00036692

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 03 December, 2015

LOUIS XVI. ROI DE FRANCE.

ET DE NAVARRE, NÉ 23. AOUST. 1754.

MEMOIRS

RELATIVE TO

MARIA ANTOINETTA,

ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA,

QUEEN OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

MEMOIRS

OF

MARIA ANTOINETTA,

ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA,

QUEEN OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE;

INCLUDING

THE MOST IMPORTANT PERIODS OF THE

French Revolution;

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1793,

THE DAY OF HER MAJESTY'S MARTYRDOM;

36692
ac

with a

NARRATIVE OF THE TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM OF MADAME ELIZABETH;
THE POISONING OF LOUIS XVII IN THE TEMPLE;
THE LIBERATION OF MADAME ROYALE, DAUGHTER OF LOUIS XVI;
AND VARIOUS SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

BY JOSEPH WEBER,

Foster-brother of the unfortunate Queen, formerly employed in the Department of the Finances of France, and now a Pensioner of His Royal Highness the Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen.

Quæque ipse miserrima vidi. VIRG.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY R. MAY, ESQ.

VOL. II. — FIRST PART.

LONDON:

Printed by COX, SON, and BAYLIS, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

AND SOLD BY THE AUTHOR, NO. 26, HAYMARKET,
AND BY ALL THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS IN EUROPE.

1806.

God
923.144
Ant/Bob/Mem
36692

CONTENTS

OF THE

CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

FIRST PART.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Royal Family during the Revolution.—First Epoch.—The National Assembly, called Constituent. —Opening of the States-General.—Debates on the Verification of the Powers.—Death of the Dauphin.— Royal Sitting.—Taking of the Bastile, the 14th July, 1789.—Debate on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and on the Veto, the 5th October, 1789.—The Royal Family brought to Paris.—The Danger of the Queen.—Her Firmness.—Federation of the 14th July, 1790.—Flight of the Royal Family.—The King and Queen stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris. —Acceptance of the Constitution of 1791.

SECOND PART.

CHAPTER V.

The Royal Family of France during the Revolution.— Second Epoch. — Legislative Assembly. — Principal Events from the 1st of October, 1791, to the 20th of September, 1792. — Declaration of War against His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, the 20th of June, 1792.—Federation of the 14th of July.—Arrival of the Marseillese at Paris.—Massacres of the 10th August.—Imprisonment of the Royal Family.—Massacres of the 2d of September, 1792.—The Author of these Memoirs imprisoned in the Hôtel de la Force, and saved from the hands of the Assassins.

CHAPTER VI.

Elections for the National Convention. — The Royal Family of France during the Revolution.—Third Epoch.—The National Convention.—The Royal Family in the Temple.—Trial and Murder of Louis XVI. —Success of the Austrian Armies.—Taking of Valenciennes.—The Queen removed to the Conciergerie.— Is impeached.—Her Trial and Death.

APPENDIX.

Fate of the Family of Louis XVI., and of Maria Antoinetta.—Madame Elizabeth tried and put to Death. —Madame Royale exchanged for the Deputies and other Agents of the Conventional Government, Prisoners in Austria. — Her Marriage at Mittau with the Duke of Angoulême.—General Reflections. —Prayers offered up for the Descendants of Henry IV., and the Daughter of Maria-Antoinetta.

MEMOIRS

RELATIVE TO

MARIA-ANTOINETTA,

Archduchess of Austria,

QUEEN OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

CHAPTER IV.

The Royal Family of France after the commencement of the Revolution. First epocha. Opening of the States General. Debates on the Verification of the Powers. Death of the Dauphin. National or Constituent Assembly. Royal sitting. Taking of the Bastile, July 14, 1789. *Debates on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and on the Veto. The 5th of October,* 1789. *The Royal Family carried to Paris. The Queen's danger. Her firmness. Federation of the* 14*th of July,* 1790. *Flight of the Royal Family. The King and Queen stopped at Varennes, and taken back to Paris. Acceptance of the Constitution of* 1791.

In the preceding chapters I have described Maria-Antoinetta surrounded by all the lustre of the most brilliant thrones in the world, attracting general admiration, constituting the happiness of her consort, and proving the delight of all that approached her. I have traced what appeared to me the remote and immediate causes that gradu-

ally brought on the troubles which broke out in France so early as 1788. I have attempted to detail the commotions which preceded the convocation of the States-General, and to expose the defects in the composition of that assembly, and the gloomy auspices under which it met on the 5th of May. I have prepared my readers for the deplorable scenes it remains for me to lay before them. They have at present to contemplate the gradual fall of an ancient throne, and a powerful house, terminated by a catastrophe of the most shocking nature. I have now only to relate daily outrages offered to Majesty, an uninterrupted series of conspiracies against all that France had previously cherished and venerated. The breath of faction blown over the kingdom, loyalty and happiness are to be blighted. Atheism is to generate rebellion, and rebellion to produce murder, regicide, fire, and devastation. Peaceful and happy subjects, losing their nature, are to stain their hands with the blood of the justest of kings, of the best of fathers. The noblest of queens is to suffer the humiliations, disgraces, and punishment, inflicted only on the vilest criminals. Goodness, majesty, greatness, innocence, piety, youth, beauty, all are to be precipitated into the same abyss. Yet, eminent traits of firmness, fidelity, and zeal, will shine forth from time to time amidst those

dreadful catastrophes, like the transient gleams sometimes observed in the most violent storms. These I will collect with care, to relieve the imagination, scared with the horrors I have to relate. But for this consolation, I should perhaps be unable to pursue the task I have undertaken; perhaps not have courage to relate the horrors which MARIA-ANTIONETTA had the fortitude to endure.

Louis XVI. opened the States-General with a speech that breathed the goodness of his heart, and his love for his subjects. By his public speeches, as well as by his unpremeditated answers, and his confidential letters, we may form a judgment of the beneficent spirit, of the upright and enlightened mind of this unfortunate monarch.

When the Notables assembled, his first words to them were, "My heart is impatient for the "moment, when surrounded by the representatives "of my faithful subjects, I may concert with them "the means of repairing the evils of the state, "and in maintaining the authority I received from "my ancestors, ensure the happiness of my peo-"ple, which is inseparable from it, and which "will ever be my only aim."

As soon as the representatives of his subjects

were assembled, he said to them among other things, " A general anxiety and monstrous spirit " of innovation pervade the minds of men, and " will terminate in a total distraction of opinions, " if haste be not made to settle them, by a union " of wise and temperate counsels. Whatever " can be expected from the most anxious solici- " tude for the public happiness, whatever can be " asked from a sovereign, the first friend of his " people, you may, and ought to expect from my " feelings."

Some days after, in answering a deputation from the States-General, he said, " In calling you near " me, to assist me with your counsels, it was with " the idea of your being capable of telling me " the truth, as my will was to hear it."

How happy would it have been for France, had the representatives whom she sent to the foot of the throne, animated with the same spirit as Louis XVI, been inclined to second the disposition he never ceased to manifest!

The deputies of the Tiers Etat, felt the strength they derived from their number being equal to that of the two other orders, as well as from the number of their partizans in those orders, and they

consequently easily forgot not only that they were the King's subjects, but likewise, that they were delegates of only a part of the nation. At the very first sitting, many of them seeing the King put on his hat when he had finished his speech, put on theirs also, which determined his Majesty to take his off, and sit uncovered during the sitting.

The idea of the *sovereignty of the people* had been fermenting in the brains of some men before it was debated; and, as the representatives of the pretended sovereign presumed that they were the representatives of the sovereignty, they conceived that they might thenceforth treat at least on terms of equality with the monarch who had convoked them. This conduct, at the very opening of the States-General, indicated sufficiently, that it would not be long before they considered their real sovereign as a salaried and responsible delegate. Before the 5th of May, they manifested a great dissatisfaction with the dress appointed to be worn on days of ceremony, in conformity with that used at the last States-General. The self-love of the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat was hurt, not only with its very great simplicity, compared with the ancient and elegant dress of the order of the nobility, but also, with the denomination of a

part of their clothes.* The form of the dress was changed previous to the opening of the States.

These observations might appear frivolous, did they not serve to shew the principle, pride, and pretensions of the Tiers-Etat. The King had himself given attention to the ceremonials to be observed on that great day, and had caused minute researches to be made, in order that the forms of the constitution of the ancient States-General might be preserved in every respect. This information we have from M. Necker himself, in a work on the French revolution, which he published in Switzerland after his retirement. "The "King alone," he there says, vol. 1. page 3, "amidst the general fermentation, displayed that "serenity which belongs to upright intentions, "and moderate sentiments; and while every one "else was occupied in making acquisitions he was "examining what prerogatives he could renounce "without weakening the authority necessary to "government, no doubt preparing to make a "sacrifice of them. He desired, he loved what "was right and good with the most perfect sim-"plicity, and preserving a melancholy remem-

* The hats with the broad brim turned down, called the *flapped hats.*

" brance of the crosses he had experienced, and
" the obstacles that the incapacity of his minis-
" ters had often thrown in the way of his views,
" he felt a comfort in the resolution he had taken
" of calling the representatives of the nation to
" his assistance; and, catching at the hopes that
" might be formed from the assembling of the
" States-General, he contemplated that event with
" a pleasing confidence. At his desire, an ac-
" count was frequently given to him, of the pro-
" gress and proceedings of the commission he
" had appointed for concerting and directing the
" most important of conventions; he searched
" himself among the old annals for all that might
" suit the new circumstances; and a short time
" before the opening of the States-General, he
" was seen to bestow a just degree of interest on
" the different ceremonies intended to give bril-
" liancy to so glorious a day."

This avowal of M. Necker's in favour of the monarch becomes his own condemnation; for, since he knew the King's heart, the love he bore to his people, and his wish to do good, why sap the foundations of the throne of that sovereign, who could repair the defects of the state in reigning according to the ancient laws of the monarchy? Why did M. Necker presume to give the

the French nation the form of a new constitution, withour consulting their habits, their sentiments, and their will? Why did he invest himself in a manner with the office of Grand Elector of the kingdom, and form for himself with so much care, a revolutionary majority, by giving to the nobility and clergy a kind of representation, from which he was certain to see them very soon fall into a state of degradation, and in consequence of which, all the efforts of those two orders for the preservation of the monarchy would be ineffectual against the majority of the votes of the Tiers-Etat, by those of the mass of the country clergy?

Here, it is proper to take a survey of the persons who composed that famous assembly.

The first that presents himself to our view, is the first prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, the head of a faction as yet not thoroughly formed, but which had already a chief, grand officers, and a treasurer; and was ready to recruit itself with all whom discontent, cupidity, intrigue, debauchery, hatred, revenge, irreligion, and dread of the laws, might send to its standard. The object of this faction was, the abdication of the King, the establishment of a regency in favour

of Louis Philip, and under the name of this prince to rule amidst licentiousness and disorder.

The order of the clergy, which ought naturally to have been represented by persons most interested in the order, and most capable of defending them, with the exception of forty prelates, was composed of vicars, and a few monks. It was the natural result, and had been foreseen, of the mode of convocation of the bailiwick assemblies invented with that view by M. Necker. The simple manners, and upright intentions of those worthy pastors, only served to render them incapable of diving into the views of those men, who had cast their eyes on the estates and endowments of the church, hospitals, and colleges; they eagerly assisted them in disposing of the sacred property of the poor, of the infirm, of the old, of the dying, and of the seminaries of public instruction, in the hope of obtaining the dignities and salaries of a new church to be constituted in their favour.

In the order of the nobility, appeared the most ancient and most illustrious names of the kingdom. Among these representatives were some, whose ancestors had 800 years before, assisted Hugh Capet to mount the throne of France, others whose an-

cestors distinguished themselves in the Crusades, and others whose fathers had fought at the side of Henry IV. in the victories of that prince, which fixed him on his throne. With the Montmorencies and Rochefoucaults, were united the Birons, Crillons, Lachâtres, Montboissiers, Crussols, Clermont Tonnerres, Montesquieus, Boufflers, Noailles, and a crowd of names more or less celebrated in the annals of the monarchy, either for the services rendered by their ancestors to the state, or for the favours bestowed upon them by the kings of France, or the high dignities to which they had been raised. In the number, were also seen, with a kind of dread, a great many of those officers who had been with Rochambeau to America, and who had brought back with them dangerous notions of liberty and equality: among others, the two Lameths, nephews of the loyal and venerable Marshal Broglio. Both had been loaded with the favours of the court; not only had their education been paid out of the royal treasury, but the Queen had interested herself extremely in their promotion in the army, and had been the means of their marrying well; yet, from the very opening of the States-General they signalized their ingratitude, by placing themselves at the head of the faction for disorganizing the monarchy, and among the foremost of the personal enemies of

MARIA-ANTOINETTA. After what I have said of that Princess's goodness of heart, one may judge what she must have felt on this perfidious defection.

However, this composition of the order of the nobility would have proved but a weak and contemptible minority of revolutionists, without influence, had not the prime minister confounded it with the factions of the two other orders, with all that was ignoble or degraded in the kingdom. The union of the minorities of the two higher orders, with the seditions of the Tiers-Etat, formed that dreadful majority that completely subverted the monarchy.

As for the Tiers-Etat, it presented the view of an heterogeneous and anomalous aggregation of nobles, abbés, lawyers, philosophers, protestants, jansenists, economists, metaphysicians, men dissatisfied with the court, enemies to all authority, and even persons already criminally convicted by the courts of justice, who denominated the action of the laws '*despotism.* All of these had a portion of revolutionary acts to perform, and all parties agreed to decompose and annihilate the sovereign power; but there was neither unity nor coherence to form it anew.

Still, in each of the orders of the state, there were many men of the greatest talents, who remained faithful to their King, firmly attached to the principles of the monarchy, and who were to the last moment, and at the risk of their lives, intrepid defenders of the throne, and of the altar. Their names are already consecrated in history.

All the revolutionists of the three orders, spontaneously devoted themselves to the Duke of Orleans; not that they saw from the first, that the faction of that prince had in view the destruction of Louis XVI. and Maria-Antoinetta, to substitute the branch of Orleans for the reigning one. The greater part had no other intention, than to join a party bent on obtaining a reform of what they called the abuses of the ancient system, and particularly on securing a written constitution. Almost all of these, of course, deserted the Duke of Orleans, when the events of the 5th of October had fully unveiled his secret projects, and shown how little confidence could be inspired by a character so fluctuating and pusillanimous. From their hands, the Duke soon fell into those of all that was vile and cruel in the capital, and throughout the kingdom. But let us not anticipate events.

As the representatives arrived at Versailles, they had the honour of being presented to the King and Queen. One day, some deputies of these orders attached to the ancient government, thought proper to offer their services to the Queen, and to assure her of their zeal and devotion for her person. Her Majesty replied, that it was not of her they ought to think, that all she besought them to accord her, was to exert themselves to prevent the respect due to the King from being weakened.

She was sensible that the first efforts of the Duke of Orleans's partizans, would be to destroy in the nation the respect due to the successor of sixty-six kings, who had placed France in the first rank of glory and of power among the kingdoms of the world. She saw it to be already the point aimed at by the famous Count Mirabeau, who had procured his election as deputy among the Tiers-Etat, after having been rejected by the order of the nobility of his province. This eloquent orator betrayed at his very outset, the design he had formed of being prime minister, and of governing France as he pleased. He detested the court, he detested the order to which by his birth he belonged, he spread incendiary remarks on the King, and more particularly, on MARIA-

ANTOINETTA; he rapidly circulated his opinions on the government, and his calumnies against his sovereigns, by means of a periodical paper he had just established under the title of *The Courier of Provence, or Letters from Count Mirabeau to his Constituents.* The courtiers called him *the Plebeian Count.* From the moment he appeared in the states, he discovered a desire to play a great part, an ambition to make a noise, and projects of the most sinister nature. On the day of the opening, as he looked at the King, who wore on his dress of ceremony several of the diamonds of the crown, he was heard to say to those who sat by him, *There is the victim.* Born with an impetuous character, and passions extremely ardent, his youth was spent in tempests of every kind. "He "was throughout his life," says M. de la Harpe, "the most immoral of men; a bad son, an exe- "crable husband, a brutal lover, an imperious "master: his character sometimes dastardly, "sometimes severe, had not even stability: his "master passion was pride; he was constitu- "tionally irascible to the highest degree, and to "these two causes might be often attributed the "gleams of patriotism which he displayed on "some knotty occasions. They were often too "the result of his propensity for intrigue, but "chiefly of his pecuniary wants, so that in this

" profound Machiavelist, those brilliant flashes
" of genius, and those expressions of sentiment,
" that would have done honour to the most vir-
" tuous man, were nothing more than articles of
" trade. This energetic but corrupt man had no
" secret, for he had no system; but he promoted
" his interest, and gratified his pride, at the
" expense of every party. Now plebeian, now
" patrician, alternately republican and despot,
" his object was to throw himself in the way of
" all that was passing, in order to take ad-
" vantage of those circumstances that might be
" successful."

The Queen foresaw all the dangers in which such a character, possessing popular influence, was likely to involve the monarchy and the person of the Monarch. She knew that Mirabeau, loaded with debt and ambitious of celebrity, wanted money and place: she endeavoured to persuade the ministers to get rid of the turbulent demagogue by paying his debts and giving him the embassy to Constantinople or Philadelphia. Unfortunately Necker thought himself able to contend foot to foot with Mirabeau. He thought that a little faction, composed of wits and barbers, attached to his fortune and combined in his views, could counterbalance the talents

and activity of that indefatigable man, and easily restrain in the name of public morals the popular commotions at the head of which he should place himself. The sequel proved that the Queen had formed a juster judgment of the man than the minister had.

Mirabeau, who was looking out for men to second him in the execution of his seditious projects, naturally connected himself with the Duke of Orleans. Equally vengeful, equally ambitious, they were very soon united by guilt and interest. They took such little pains to conceal their connexions, that the notes of hand given by the Duke to Mirabeau, when the exhausted state of his money reduced him to make use of his credit, were publicly negociated on the Exchange at Paris.

The Queen was well acquainted with all these manœuvres. She foresaw her fate and that of her consort; but never would she separate her interests from those of the King, or admit a thought of parting from him. Her brother, the Emperor Joseph, and also the Queen of Naples, pressed her in vain to quit France during the Revolution, and to go and enjoy at their courts that tranquillity which she could no longer hope

hope for in France. MARIA-ANTOINETTA declined their offers, and devoted herself entirely to her husband and her children. Never would she lose sight of them for an instant, notwithstanding the storms in the midst of which she was placed. " It is my duty," said she, " to remain firm at " the post where Providence has stationed me, " and to oppose my bosom, if necessary, to the " daggers of the assassins who shall attempt to " strike at the King."

The States-General divided into parties in their very first sittings. The two first orders were desirous that the powers of each deputy should be verified in the chamber to which he belonged, while the Tiers-Etat declared that the verification should be in common. As long as this dispute lasted, Louis XVI made every effort to conciliate the parties. " It is by proceeding with har- " mony," said he to them in one of his letters, " that the States-General will acquire the activity " necessary to effect the general happiness." When the Tiers-Etat complained of the distinctions granted to the clergy and nobility, his reply was, " All the orders of the state have an " equal right to my favours."

Indeed, all the time that the dispute lasted

between the orders, the King received them all impartially: he took no part but that of mediator.

In a letter which he wrote to the order of the nobility, who complained of the pretensions of the Tiers-Etat, he said: " I am well aware of " the rights attached to your birth; I shall always " be able to protect and defend them; I shall " also, for the interest of all my subjects, be able " to maintain the authority confided to me, and " I will never suffer it to be altered." Happy would it have been had he persisted in this resolution worthy of a king!

The clergy and nobility retired to very small halls appropriated to their respective orders in the Hotel *des Menus Plaisirs*, which had been chosen as the most convenient place in Versailles for the holding of the States-General; but the Tiers-Etat remained in the common hall that had been used for their opening. This hall, decorated with infinite taste by M. Paris, the architect of the *Menus Plaisirs*, could, from the nature of it, only be intended for the general meetings of the three orders on extraordinary occasions; but as either by design or inadvertence, no hall had been built for the separate sittings of the

Tiers-Etat, this order was under the necessity of appropriating the common hall to that purpose. Every man who knows the influence of local circumstances will be sensible how much this must have contributed to augment the pretensions of the Tiers-Etat to call for an union of the nobility and clergy in the common hall; and how much must those two orders, crowded in the height of summer in narrow chambers, where they must have been suffocated by heat, have felt an inclination to find a place more spacious and less inconvenient. The author of those arrangements, M. Necker, ought not to have been ignorant of this natural disposition of the human mind. If he was ignorant of it, such profound ignorance was guilt in him; and if he foresaw the effect, he committed a crime of unpardonable perfidy.

The Tiers-Etat, elated by so many favourable circumstances, immediately entitled themselves *the Commons*. They would not suffer it to be supposed that they considered themselves as an order constituted separately; and a sure way of displeasing them would have been, in speaking of them, to make use of the ancient denomination of *Tiers-Etat*.

The nobility, actuated by different interests,

pursued a conduct directly opposite, and declared themselves fully constituted on the 11th of May, after verifying their powers. But the clergy proceeded more slowly: they suspended the verification of their powers, considered themselves as not yet constituted, and offered their mediation to the two other orders. Commissioners were appointed by the three chambers, in order to consult upon a plan of conciliation. His Majesty himself caused one to be drawn up, under the title of *Ouverture*, and sent it to the States-General. This plan produced only debates, meetings of commissioners, addresses to the King, and deputations, but nothing decisive. It was said, in deploring the loss of time and the scandal of the altercations that took place, that the King might have prevented them on the very day of the opening, by commanding the three orders to begin the verification of their powers in his presence: in fact, however, the King could not, on that day, but by a kind of presumption, deem himself in the States-General, for as the powers of the deputies had been verified by nobody, he could as yet only consider the persons around him as individuals coming from the different provinces of his kingdom.

While *the Commons*, strong in their powerful

inaction, embarrassed the deputies of the nobility and clergy by their formidable appearance and their numbers, the public opinion took a rapid stride in the capital. Crouds of the curious covered the road between Paris and Versailles. The nobility and clergy excluded with reason the public from their halls. The Tiers-Etat, whose hall was open to every body, indiscriminately called in the people to share in a manner in their labours and in their spirit; and the effects of this popularity was very soon perceived. The capital was set in motion and fermented; the *Palais Royal* became the centre of the flames that had been kindled in every brain; there was formed, as it were, another assembly of the Tiers-Etat, which by the quickness of their deliberations, the permanence of their sittings, and the numbers of their members, got the advantage over that of Versailles. These new *Commons* made motions on motions, and resolutions on resolutions: they had their president and their speaker, and not only rivalled, but soon fraternized with the real *Commons*. Their deputies were sent to Versailles, where they were received and listened to in the hall. In a little time the clergy and nobility felt the general commotion. A certain number of deputies of each chamber took the resolution of going to verify their powers in the hall of the

commons: a part of the clergy first went over, and were soon followed by a minority of the nobility.

Death of the Dauphin.

It was during these debates, which excited the greatest agitation in the capital and the liveliest anxiety at court, that MARIA-ANTOINETTA lost the Dauphin, in his eighth year. He had given, even at that early age, the most brilliant hopes; but he soon fell into a sad debilitated state, in which he suffered dreadful pains. He died on the 4th of June, 1789, in the arms, and bathed with the tears, of this excellent mother, whom he frequently told that he suffered only when he saw her weep. This premature death greatly affected the Queen. The grief she felt on this occasion, uniting with the anxiety caused by the King's situation, produced a complication of horrors that entirely turned her hair grey, though she was but four and thirty years old. She had her picture taken about this time, and sent it to her friend, the Princess de Lamballe, with these affecting words written by herself under it: *Her sorrows have made her grey!*

The King was not less affected by the loss of so beloved a child: he was inconsolable at his death, and continued several days without seeing any

person whatever. He gave orders that he should be left alone, and that on no pretence whatever should he be disturbed in his sorrow. Secluded in his apartments, he gave himself up to the most despondent reflexions. The chamber of the Tiers-Etat decreed, that a deputation, with their president at the head of it, should go and present his majesty with the condolence of *his faithful Commons* on this melancholly event. The deputation proceeded to the palace: on being refused admission to the King, according to the orders that had been given, the president insisted on it so rudely, pretending that he had a resolution of his order to communicate, that the attendants were compelled to inform his majesty of it. Louis XVI asked if this president had been informed of his reason for desiring to be alone. On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed mournfully; "There are no fathers in "this chamber of the Tiers-Etat!" and ordered the introduction of a deputation, who came to open his wounds anew, by speaking of the object of his grief.

The young Prince was born on the 22d of October, 1781, and died at the palace of Meudon, on the 4th of June, 1789: his body was

deposited without pomp at St. Dennis. He was the last of the princes of his blood who descended to the tomb of his fathers. Alas! his ashes were not suffered to remain there long undisturbed: the Vandals who dishonoured the soil of France in every way, violated the coffin that held them, on the very day that some of the barbarians murdered his mother.*

The heart of MARIA-ANTOINETTA had already been put to a similar trial two years before, by the loss of a daughter, only eleven months old. It was in vain that the most intimate of her friends represented to her the very short period of

* October 16th, 1793. See the work intitled: *Musée des Monumens François, par* ALEXANDRE LENOIR: vol. II. page 99, the chapter of *Historical Notes on the throwing out of the dead bodies at the Abbey of St. Dennis.*

MARIA-ANTOINETTA had four children by her marriage with Louis XVI.

1st. *Maria Theresa Charlotte,* born December 19th, 1778, who married her cousin, *the Duke d'Angouleme.*

2d. *Louis-Joseph Xavier,* the Dauphin, born October 22d, 1781; died June 4th, 1789.

3d. *Charles Louis,* born March 4th, 1785, called *Duke of Normandy* till his brother's death, when he took the title of *Dauphin*; died in 1794, in the Temple.

4th. *Sophia Helen* of France, born July 9th 1786; died June 19th, 1787.

the Princess's life as a motive for alleviating her sorrow: she replied, " *Do you forget that she* " *would have been a friend!*" and continued shedding tears in combining the ideas of daughter and friend.

About the middle of the month of June, the order of the Tiers-Etat, tired of *adjuring* and *conjuring* the two other orders, who had the month before solemnly renounced all their pecuniary privileges, to join them, thought that they could no longer delay constituting themselves without being guilty against the *Nation*. Again inviting and summoning for the last time, the two other orders to come and verify in common, they proceeded without delay to the verification of the powers by calling over the bailiwics. In this interval some new members of the clergy joined the commons; and the verification of the powers of all the deputies present in the assembly was fully made: at the end of which it was declared, on a celebrated motion of the Abbé Siéyès,— " That the assembly was now composed of the " representatives returned directly by the ninety- " six hundreths of the nation; that such a body " of deputies could not remain inactive on ac- " count of the absence of some classes of citizens; " that it belonged only to them to interpret and

" represent the general will of the nation: that " between the throne and such an assembly there " could exist no power endowed with a negative; " that consequently the denomination of *known* " *and verified representatives* of the nation was " the only one suitable to the assembly; and that " it was necessary to begin without delay the " common work of restoration, still retaining " the hope of being joined by the absent depu- " ties, and of sharing with them the labours " that were to effect the regeneration of " France."

After long and warm debates, the commons, rejecting the title of *known and verified representatives of the nation*, but otherwise adopting the motion in its full force, declared themselves, in the night of the 16th and 17th of June, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

On this the oath was taken, and to make an essay of their power the National Assembly proceeded to their first act of sovereignty, in declaring, " That the contributions, as they were " then collected throughout the kingdom, not " having been granted by the nation, were " illegal, and consequently null." They at the same time declared, " That to prevent the sub-

" version of the state, the imposts and contri-
" butions, though illegally established and col-
" lected, should continue to be levied in the
" same manner as before, yet only till the day
" the Assembly should be first separated, from
" whatever cause that might happen; and after
" that day the National Assembly understood
" and declared, that every levy of imposts which
" was not expressly and freely granted by them,
" should entirely cease in every part of the king-
" dom." The creditors of the state were then placed under the protection of French honour and good faith.

It would be difficult to describe the sensation, and various effects produced by this memorable sitting. On the one hand tears of joy were shed and applauses bestowed with rapture. " In
" a single day," it was said, " the prejudices
" and slavery of a hundred years had been des-
" troyed; the nation had resumed their rights, and
" reason had recovered hers." No longer were the clergy and nobility reckoned as any thing; the Tiers-Etat was become the nation. On the other hand, men shuddered at the magnitude and consequences of this enterprize of the Tiers-Etat. It was said, " Not only the nobility, clergy, and
" customs and rights are annihilated, but royalty

" itself is assailed. In England the powers at " least balanced one another, but here the Na- " tional Assembly were going to carry away " every thing."

The Court, with reason, took umbrage, and adopted measures for preventing the evils they dreaded. The cause of the nobility and clergy was naturally connected with that of the Government. The proceedings of those two orders had been so moderate, and those of the Tiers-Etat, on the contrary, so precipitate, that it was said, the former endeavoured only to preserve, while the aim of the latter was to destroy: the difference was, in a manner, the same as between defensive and offensive. The King dreaded lest the National Assembly should place themselves between him and his people, and he therefore was anxious to come between his people and the National Assembly. He caused it to be announced that he should hold a royal sitting on the 23d of June; and in the mean time the hall of the States-General was shut and surrounded by guards. This measure was announced to the representatives of the nation in the morning of the 20th of June. The orders of the clergy and nobility submitted with a good grace to remain inactive till the King should inform them of his

will; but the order of the Tiers, who had within two days constituted themselves a *National Assembly*, chose to make a trial of their strength in disobeying the King's commands. Enflamed by their own frenzies, and by those of the spectators whom Paris every morning poured into their sittings, and stimulated by the populace of Versailles, who, supported by the Court, had the folly and ingratitude to turn upon their benefactors, the Assembly met in a Tennis-court where they dared to hold a long sitting, the result of which was an oath to the following effect:— "That in the alarming circumstances in which "the deputies of the nation found themselves "placed, it behoved them to take an oath that "they considered themselves as inseparable until "France had a fixed and uniform constitution, "and that they would meet in any and every "place where they possibly could." They all took this oath, attended afterwards with such fatal consequences. This took place during the presidency of M. Bailly, the deputy for the Tiers of Paris, one of the forty of the French Academy; the minute of the proceedings was drawn up by M. Mounier, the deputy from Dauphiné, and signed by all the members, one alone excepted, *M. Martin d'Auch*, who, at the breaking up of the sitting, escaped the fury of the populace only

by the care that was taken to assure them that he had become insane.

Thus did the leaders of the National Assembly manifest that they absolutely intended to frame a new constitution. On their side, the first orders of the state were very certain that that constitution, dictated and maintained by a majority entirely democratic, would produce a thorough change in France, which sooner or later, would sink into a republic, or to speak more properly, into endless anarchy and civil war.

The Court were divided as well as the States-General. The Queen, the princes, the grandees, the principal members of the clergy, almost all those of the nobility, the magistrates, all prudent and enlightened men, desired, demanded the division of the orders, in order to prevent a revolution, which the union of all the powers in in one and the same assembly could not fail to produce.

The desire of doing good to his people, and of restoring to them repose and tranquillity, induced the King to listen to M. Necker. This minister, who in forming the States-General had not concealed his intention of composing a constituent

assembly, became alarmed after they were assembled at the indocility of certain members, and while he was nettled at the contempt for his talents, and even for his style, which several deputies, and particularly Mirabeau, publicly expressed, he was no less alarmed at the general effervescence of the public. Desirous of reconciling the interests of the monarchy with his own popularity, he thought he had fallen on a fine political stroke, in advising this royal sitting, in which the King was to order the assembling of the orders in common for general affairs, and separate meetings for the discussion of business peculiar to each; and to give, at the same time, the plan of a constitution taken impartially from the greater part of the instructions of the Bailliwicks.

In the interval between the 20th and 23d of June, the supporters of the royal authority, the Queen, the princes of the blood, and the magistrates whose opinion was of the greatest weight, united to represent to his Majesty, that he ought to declare, in the projected royal sitting, that it was his intention to preserve the distinction of the three orders, as essential to the monarchy and the constitution of the state. The King resolved to make this declaration.

At length, on the 23d of June, this royal sitting took place: the three orders assembled for the opening of it in the hall of the states, at the hour appointed by the King. His Majesty opened it with a speech, in which he expressed his sorrow at the divisions that reigned among the orders, a division so injurious to the work of restoration, and so contrary to the dearest wishes of his heart. This speech was followed by a declaration read by the keeper of the seals. It was exact and imperative on the ancient distinction of the three orders: it regulated the separate system, the forms of the deliberations, and the nature of the mandats: it anticipated the researches of the Assembly, respecting the ancient rights, useful or honorary, of the orders, and the organization to be given to the succeeding States-General; lastly, it revoked and annulled the famous resolution entered into by the Tiers on the 17th of June, and all those which had been the consequence of it, as illegal and unconstitutional. By this declaration, likewise, the public were to be secluded from the hall.

This being read, the King announced another declaration, which contained thirty-five articles, specifying the benefits his Majesty had accorded to his people. " I may say, without any self-

" illusion," added his Majesty, " that no King " has ever done so much for any nation; but " what other could have merited it more by their " sentiments than the French Nation?"

This declaration, so well known, turned on all the instructions of the bailiwicks, upon all that had so long formed the wishes of the nation. Imposts, loans, publicity of the state of the finances, reduction of the sums appropriated to the different departments and the King's household, consolidation of the public debt, abolition of the pecuniary privileges of the nobility and clergy, abolition of the poll-tax and of the feudal tenure, respect for property of every kind and for the useful and honorary prerogatives attached to landed property and to persons, the ennobling of persons, *lettres-de-cachets*, the liberty of the press, domains, customs, freedom of commerce, salt duties, civil and criminal code, corvée, rights of mortmain, governments of castles, the soldiery, personal liberty, equality of taxation, and the establishment of provincial states. On all these points his Majesty explained his will and his wishes, and terminated the sitting with these remarkable words: " If you desert me in so noble an enter- " prise, I will alone effect the welfare of my " people.—It is perhaps uncommon, that the

" sole ambition of a sovereign should be to pre-
" vail upon his subjects to agree and accept his
" favours." The King, before he retired, enjoined the three orders to separate immediately, and to resume their sittings next day in their respective chambers.

This declaration ought to have been received with public acclamations of joy and gratitude: they completed the long series of benefits which Louis XVI. had been heaping on his people from the beginning of his reign. It was not enough for the heart of that good Monarch to have remitted the tribute of the *joyous accession* *, to receive that of love and gratitude from the French; to have restored to their wishes the parliaments and sovereign courts; to have entirely abolished the use of the rack; to have purified prisons; to have caused the reasons of the detention of all prisoners to be enquired into with the greatest care; to have suspended and limited the use of *lettres-de cachet*; to have reserved this chastisement only for such crimes as the interest and honour of families required should not always be publicly punished; to have abolished personal servitude in his own domains; to have modified

* Joyeux Avènement.

the *corvée*, and made it fall equally on the whole community; to have repaired the errors committed by the economists, in respect to the exportation of grain, and wisely combined the interests of the former with the wants of the consumer; to have established those charity houses of industry, from which his cruel enemies afterwards recruited the army that was the instrument of his ruin; to have set the example in his experiments at Rambouillet for improving the breed of animals, useful in agriculture, or for manufactures, and of those that are the companions of men, and share his military fatigues; to have patronized and encouraged manufactures and academies, the mechanical and liberal arts; to have ordered long voyages, for the purpose of encreasing the store of geographical knowledge and extend the glory of the French name; to have reestablished in a few years a formidable navy; to have been the first to direct that the flags of circumnavigators, even those of an enemy, should be respected at sea; to have encreased harbours, erected light-houses, and sunk basons; to have ordered the establishment of a museum, destined to be the glory of the French nation; to have given new existence to that noble garden, where plants from all regions of the world, however opposed, naturalized by his bounty flourish together;

to have immortalized the glorious actions of his subjects, by raising, through the means of painting and sculpture, lasting monuments to the devoted zeal of the Chevalier d'Assas, and to the loyalty of the brave Constable Dugueſclin; by erecting statues to Pascal, Descartes, La Fontaine, Vincent-de-Paule, Bossuet, Fabert, Catinat, and the Chancellor de l'Hopital, all born in that class declared by calumny to have been neglected; to have terminated advantageously a war glorious to the arms of France both by land and sea; to have given up, or at least rarely taken, the expensive excursions to Compiegne and Fontainebleau; lastly, to have dropped the idea of building new palaces, or even repairing the old ones, that he might attend with greater spirit to the cottage of the poor. So many beneficial acts, I say, were not enough; it was still reserved for him to advance and meet a constitution too slow in its progress, to offer himself the principal articles fit, and to capitulate, as it were, voluntarily on the throne.

However, the effects of this royal sitting did not answer the expectations of those who advised it. The disappointment was owing to several causes. In the first place, it was too late. Six months sooner it would have banished the very

idea, the very desire of States-General; but at the period at which matters had arrived, the States being already assembled, the King going among them to finish their work, was, even in that particular, a great affront to a multitude of persons coming from all points of the kingdom *to make laws*. This step of the King's wounded the self-love of too many, and smothered too many pretentions to glory and fortune, to be favourably received. In the next place, one of those events which cannot be foreseen, and the consequences of which are beyond all calculation, had an influence on the fate of the Royal Sitting. Mr. Necker was not present at it; and such was still the popularity of that minister, that his absence seemed a general calamity. It was said, that the reason for which he had thought proper not to attend, was that he did not approve it: this presumed disapprobation was soon confirmed by the news that was spread of his having resigned.

Mr. Necker and his friends endeavoured in vain to justify his conduct on this occasion. It appeared by their own confession, that it was he who had advised the King to adopt the measure: now, it was the measure itself, and not the trifling changes made in drawing up some articles of the plan which offended the *Tiers-Etat*. It was not till long after

that the Assembly and the public became acquainted with these insignificant alterations; but they were immediately struck with the absence and dismission of the popular minister. The alarm was spread: it was thought that this sitting had taken place contrary to Mr. Necker's positive advice, and no one could persuade himself that that minister could ever have advised the Monarch to such an act of sovereignty, when all considered him as one of the chief partizans of the sovereignty of the people. It was himself, however, who designed the plan, and who *gave the idea of it* *. It was his duty to have supported it with all his influence, instead of seeking to mortify the King, and to give him up, undefended, to all the attacks of the factions. The avowals of M. Necker leave us now no longer in doubt respecting the causes of the ill humour to which he so unreasonably yielded himself on that occasion.

" The King," says M. Necker, " in the plan " which he at first adopted (that of this minister) " reserved to himself, in the most formal man- " ner, the right of approving or rejecting the " civil and political regulations that should be

* De la Revolution Françoise, par M. Necker: vol. 1. page 265.

" presented to him by the States-General; but, " at the same time, he did not undertake to for- " bid their investigating the defects inherent in " the old form of the States General, *and enquir-* " *ing into the means of perfection.* The Monarch " only rejected with vigour *the ideas that had* " *been started respecting the constitution of these* " *states in one assembly*, and he declared possi- " tively, that *he would refuse his assent to every* " *kind of legislative form not composed of at least* " *two chambers.* It was seen in the Council, that " by this declaration the King had made a step " towards a constitution similar to that of Eng- " land .... These *wise* inclinations were chang- " ed, and almost in a moment. The King, be- " sides, formally excepted from all discussion *the* " *form of constitution to be given to the ensuing* " *States General.* Was not this evidently com- " promising his authority? For he was persuaded " to interdict what he could not prevent," &c.

These few expressions are enough to condemn M. Necker. In fact, we discover in them, that from that time his design was to propose or point out, through the King, to the States General the plan of a new constitution, modeled on that of England. Other advisers of the King represented to his Majesty that this plan was subversive of

the ancient constitution of the kingdom, and of the charters which had successively united the greater part of the provinces to the French Monarchy; that his Majesty would be guilty of a violation of his oaths, if he annulled the original compacts on which his own hereditary rights to the crown rested; that he would, by that means, destroy the support which he might expect for his authority from the nobility and clergy; in short, that a new legislative form of two chambers would be an everlasting source of discord, as it would be impossible to determine how they should be composed; that one party would be for Peers and Commons, another for a Senate for life, a third for a temporary Senate, a fourth for a Council of Sages or a Council of Ancients; that the difficulty of agreeing would throw every thing into anarchy, and might, in destroying the throne, precipitate France into a civil war. It was observed to the King, that the number of members of the states who might support this new idea was unknown, and could not be very considerable or strong, because, on the one hand, the *Tiers-Etat* did not conceal their desire of forming only one assembly, and on the other, there was every reason to believe that the two other orders would never consent to destroy themselves, to please an alien minister, whose notions were not

perhaps adopted and supported by forty members of the States General; and it was on these wise remarks, which rested on eternal foundations, fidelity to an oath, justice, the existing laws, and truth, that the King laid aside this part of Mr. Necker's plan.

Mr. Necker, in complaining that the King's authority was evidently compromised, when his Majesty was prevailed upon *to prohibit what he could not prevent*, furnished arms against himself. If the King could neither prohibit nor prevent any thing at that period, he had nothing to propose, except perhaps a republic; and yet M. Necker persuaded him to propose something that has never been well understood. Now a King who, as M. Necker acknowledges, could prevent nothing, could ordain nothing.

M. Montmorin and M. de St Priest, both ministers, had in the council supported the whole of the regulations planned by M. Necker, and they had respectfully represented to his Majesty the dangers which the latter had told them would result from any changes, however slight, that should be made in them: but though their advice had not been followed, they did not on that account resign; they did not on that account

refuse to accompany the King to the royal sitting: they were Frenchmen, and whatever charges their enemies may have conceived they had grounds to bring against them afterwards, they showed that the first duty of a French gentleman, of a subject of the King of France, honoured with the confidence of his master, is not to quit him in the moments of a crisis, to offer him the sacrifice both of his opinion and of his life, and at all times to make a shield of his person for him. Such were still the sentiments of the French, notwithstanding the new ideas: but such a self-renunciation could not enter the heart of the proudest of the citizens of the Republic of Geneva, spoiled by some triumphs in the cabinet of Bankers, and in the halls of the Academy.

The manner in which M. Necker has endeavoured, in his work on the Revolution, to account for all that preceded or followed this royal sitting, is no less indecent than replete with that insolent stateliness that always marked his character. About that period the King made an excursion to Marly. It was very natural that his Majesty, desirous of considering in quiet and retirement a measure on which the maintenance of his authority and the tranquillity of his states depended, should remove from the tumult of

Versailles, and from the view of the popular effervescence that prevailed around the palace; yet M. Necker dared to say, " that it had been " contrived, in order that the King might be the " more easily surrounded, and his mind set " against the plans of the ministry (that is to say " his own)." Then he adds sardonically, " that " he trusted to the force of reason to oppose and " remove all *those interior attempts* which others " called *intrigues*, as he believed that he was " thoroughly acquainted both with their first " causes and chief springs." In another place he says: " that the business having been discussed in the King's cabinet, and a full and complete approbation given by the Monarch to the " opinion then unanimous of his ministers, the " council was about to conclude, when an officer " in waiting suddenly entered, went up to the " King, whispered him, and his Majesty instantly rose, ordering his ministers to keep their " place till he came back. This message coming at the moment that the council was about " to break up could not but surprise us all. One " of the ministers who sat next to me immediately said to me.—There is nothing done; " none but the Queen could have taken the liberty to interrupt the Council of State: the Princes have very likely persuaded her, and intend

" by her interference to alter the King's decision." Thus the natural conclusion of these two expressions is, that the Queen and the French Princes were *the first cause and chief springs of those interior attempts* which were made to resist the imperious opinions of M. Necker, attempts which others called *intrigues*. Such insolence on the part of a man who had been the King's minister, towards the brothers and consort of his sovereign, might justly have excited our astonishment and indignation, had it not been followed, in the course of the same chapter, by a language that bears the impression of insanity still more than insolence; such as the following expressions: " I " advised exactly what was necessary to gain the " public opinion, and nothing more. *I ought to* " *have been entirely relied upon for such an esti-* " *mate;* and surely I was better acquainted with " it, with that public opinion, I was better ac- " quainted with it than courtiers so long at vari- " ance with it . . . . It might have been per- " ceived, by looking well into it, that I was the " bigot of no political superstition, and that I fol- " lowed reason wherever I thought I distinguish- " ed her light* . . . . *All France* was with me,

* One might be induced by this expression to believe, that it suggested the idea of the festivals of those Goddesses of Reason, which were celebrated throughout France under Robespierre.

" on the day when I declared to the deputies of " the Tiers-Etat that my new engagement would " not be long, if they continued to separate " themselves from the government," &c.

Almost immediately following these extravagant expressions come others, full of a pusillanimity unworthy a statesman: I shall adduce but two. He says: " I could not assist the King in " any violent measure; my character and situation were no wise suited to it. I went very " far in engaging to support vigorously the plan " I had formed for the royal sitting; *and my determination, in that respect, proceeded from a " persuasion that the plan would be approved by " a great majority of the nation;* but to declare " war with that majority and treat public opinion " with contempt, it was necessary to look for " some other person."

In reading these expressions, so extraordinary in the mouth of a man constantly in the habit of speaking *of the energy of his character*, it is natural to ask, what courage he would have shown in supporting *vigorously* a plan that would have been approved *by a great majority of the nation?* It was necessary, says M. Necker, to look for some other person *to treat public opinion with con-*

tempt. And what, then, was that public opinion which M. Necker cited on every occasion, and of which he was pleased to make himself the humble and docile servant? By what marks did he distinguish it, to enable him to exclaim emphatically: "Surely I was better acquainted with "it than courtiers so long at variance with it?" Did he discover it in the language held at his table by some twenty parasitical deputies, infatuated, like himself, with the English constitution, of which they none of them knew any thing but from vague theories and doubtful writings? Was it in the speeches and motions dictated to Count Mirabeau, by the Academician Chamfort, and three Genevese philosophers, who at that time hastened to Paris and put themselves in the train of that celebrated demagogue, for the purpose of making him the instrument of their personal hatred of the minister, and of their vengeance on the French government? Was it in the calumnies spread by the agents of the Orleans party against the Queen and against the Court that M. Necker recognized the expression of the general opinion? But none of those various opinions agreed except for a total subversion of all that existed, and the creation of a new order of things in which every one was in hopes of gaining a favourable lot. In times of commotion the *public opinion* is but a

general mode of expression, which every one applies to his own private opinion and to that of his party, without any regard to truth, justice, and the nature of things. A wise and vigorous government does not follow but leads public opinion; and it almost always happens that the governed find in the end that the opinion of the government is far better than the innumerable clashing opinions which demagogues call the general opinion.

As M. Necker so early manifested such a high respect for the English constitution, if he were in conciensce persuaded that he could with the stroke of a pen annihilate the order of the clergy altogether, and reduce that of the nobility to an assembly of five or six hundred members, composed partly of the prelates of the Gallician church, partly of the heads of the principal families of France, to whom it would have been impossible to refuse a place in this new peerage, and the remainder of lawyers, gentry, and stock-jobbers, who should have seconded this plan, why did not he make it known at that time? why did not he confess that he had committed a great error, at the opening of the States-General, in recommending to the three orders to deliberate separately? why say that the reason neither he

nor the other ministers his colleagues appeared at the royal sitting was that evident alterations had been made in his plan, when he afterwards tells the world that the principal of those alterations was that in his project the King was to *enjoin* the three orders to assemble together to deliberate in common on all general affairs, whereas the other advisers of his Majesty had thought proper to substitute for this *injunction* a simple *exhortation* to the clergy and nobility to propose debating in common on subjects respecting the general welfare? Surely, it is hardly to be conceived that the two first orders of the state would have required a positive command, and that an exhortation from his Majesty would not have had the same effect upon them as an injunction. And yet it was upon so insignificant an alteration that M. Necker hid himself, and by withdrawing exposed the King to be massacreed on leaving the hall of the States!

What appears to have thwarted the minister most is the first article of the King's declaration, where his Majesty said: "It is the King's will "that the ancient distinction of the orders of "the state should be preserved throughout, as "essentially connected with the constitution of "his kingdom; that the deputies freely elected

" by each of the orders, forming these chambers,
" debating according to orders, and having the
" power, with the approbation of the sovereign,
" to assemble and debate in common, can alone
" be considered as composing the body of the
" representatives of the nation." Instead of this arrangement, worthy of a king desirous of maintaining the fundamental laws by virtue of which his ancestors had transmitted the throne to him, M. Necker adhering to his own system but not daring to discover it yet, or not knowing how to proceed in the disclosure of it, wished his Majesty to take it upon himself, or, as he says himself, " That the King should make a step
" towards a constitution similar to that of En-
" gland, by declaring that he would refuse his
" assent to every kind of constitution in which
" there should not be at least two chambers
" established." I have already pointed out the reasons which the King had to refuse his assistance in the disorganization of his throne.

Amidst the effervescence which agitated the public mind, this plan would probably have had no more success than that adopted by the King; it is even more natural to suppose that it would have been still less satisfactory to the factious, and that it would have caused disaffection in the two

first orders, who would be anxious to preserve their existence by adhering to the ancient laws of the monarchy. After the royal sitting the two first orders retired to their respective chambers, and the Tiers-Etat alone rebelled.

The principal cause of the resistance this order gave on that day to the declaration and commands of the King, was M. Necker's absence. Nothing can justify the conduct of the minister on this occasion. He withdrew himself. He dared to dispute the King's right to have an opinion in his council as well as every one of his ministers, when the subject in question respected an act in which his religion, honour, fidelity to his oaths, the maintenance of his crown, the rights of his successors, and the tranquillity of every class of his subjects were concerned. By supporting ostensibly a step contrary to their advice, M. de Montmorin and M. de St. Priest did not lose themselves in the public opinion, as M. Necker pretended to fear would have been his case if he had appeared at the sitting. As he was so well aware of his popularity, he ought not to have been ignorant that his absenting himself from the States-General would augment the popular agitation, and that that circumstance alone might place the King's person in imminent danger: but on this

occasion he was actuated by two different motives in his resolution not to appear at the States-General and to give in his resignation; the one was his pride being wounded on finding that the King resisted his imperious views, and the certainty that the popular clamour would oblige his Majesty, even against his will, to recall him; the other, I must say it, seems to have been the uneasiness excited in his mind by the very project he had conceived himself. I have no doubt that after arranging every thing for the Royal Sitting, M. Necker was frightened at the proof he was going to give of his weakness against an assembly governed by violence and impetuosity, and that at the moment of putting into execution the *act of vigour* which he had projected, he was very glad of a specious pretence to draw himself out of the scrape, and to throw the execution and the risks of it on those who had not, like him, become the servants of the servants of the Revolution. *

* M. Necker being a passionate admirer of the English constitution, on account of the *supreme* power which he thought it gave to the Prime Minister, even over the Sovereign himself, not only wished to impose that constitution on France, flattering himself by that means to become the elective King, and govern under the name of the hereditary king, but he would fain also act as if that constitution had been already established

I lived, during the three years that followed this period, with persons who were every day with

tablished in France. It sometimes happens in England that turbulence and a spirit of faction carry the majority of the House of Commons; and that thus the King uses the prerogative, with which he is invested by the constitution, to dissolve the Parliament, and thus appeal to the nation by the choice of new representatives. Thus the people enjoy advantages secured to them by a mixture of democracy in the constitution; and the check which it has placed in the hands of the executive power ensures it at the same time from the possible excesses of popular turbulence. Some time previous to the opening of the States-General in France, this event, extremely rare, chanced to take place in England. Mr. Pitt, then at the head of the Government, being opposed by a formidable majority, advised the King to exercise this important part of the Royal prerogative. The Parliament was dissolved, when the minister very soon recovered a majority among the new representatives of the people, and gave a new direction to public opinion. This success made a deep impression on the mind of M. Necker, who, believing himself to be another Pitt, projected an exertion of power nearly similar to that which had been accomplished by the young son of the great Chatham, almost at the outset of his political career: but scarcely had the Swiss Minister entered upon the preparatory arrangements for the dissolution of the States-General, when he was frightened at his own work, and left the King to get out of the scrape as well as he could, in the midst of an assembly, whose political notions were all in a state of confusion. What would be said at present in England of Mr. Pitt, if, after his Majesty, by his advice, had dissolved the Parliament, he had declared to

the

the King. I have constantly heard them say that his Majesty could never speak of the regulations,

the King in council that he would serve him no longer if he did not issue a fresh proclamation, *enjoining* the Peers and Commons to proceed immediately to a Parliamentary Reform, and to the framing of a new Constitution, because the ancient Constitution of the kingdom had varied frequently since the time of Alfred the Great; because it had not prevented the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the despotism of Henry VIII, the regicide of Charles I, the usurpation of Cromwell, and finally because it contained no written regulations for the regency of the state in certain cases? The King would have been called upon from every part of the empire to dismiss with disgrace a factious minister, who had the audacity to make such conditions for the continuance of his services in a crisis which he had created: with more reason still would history have hurled her anathema at his name, had he personally slunk away from his King, at the time the followers of Lord George Gordon were burning Newgate, liberating the prisoners, and threatening the Bank.

M. Necker firmly believed that in his reputation for probity and eloquence, the King would have an ægis sufficient to protect his crown against the attacks that would be made upon it in the States-General. He was pleased to believe that it would be as easy to him to overcome the ascendency of Mirabeau, as it had constantly been to Mr. Pitt to render Mr. Fox's influence of no avail in Parliament. But neither the times, places, men, nor circumstances were at all alike. If M. Necker wished to establish a struggle with the opposition in the States-General, it would have been requisite that he should have attended at every sitting, though minister; that he should have been

he proposed in that Sitting without great emotion. "They will return to it," said he, "they "must in spite of themselves resort to my decla- "ration of the 23d of June." This was the language he still held when he could express himself freely; I mean in the declaration he sent to the assembly at the time of his flight from Paris.

I feel too much respect for the memory of Maria Antoinetta to go into an enquiry of the truth of what M. Necker dared to publish after the death of that Princess, namely; "That none "but her would have taken the liberty to inter- "rupt the Council of State, that it was likely the "Princes had prevailed upon her to do it, and "that it was intended by her interposition to put "off the King's decision." But even admitting that this assertion were true, the daughter of Maria Theresa would have done nothing more than the duty prescribed to her by her rank and character. The daughter of one of the most heroic Princesses the world ever saw, the consort of a great monarch, and the mother of the heir ap-

been able to reply to the objections of some and the sarcasm of others, by arguments and retorts of sarcasm, and not by written declamations and by those submissive memorials which the ministers humbly presented at the bar of the States-General, like culprits arraigned.

parent to the throne, she had surely, in every respect, a right to interpose in whatever might affect her consort's crown or the rights of her child. The French Princes were equally intitled to watch the counsels given to the King by men among whom they knew that there were factious persons; and if among the particular advisers of the Queen and Princes, in circumstances so important, be found, the heads of the magistracy and of the clergy, the principal members of the order of the nobility, and those very magistrates who, after having been so ardent in defending the rights of the people, were now no less eager in defending the rights of the crown, Maria-Antoinetta acted as she ought, in making use of all the influence she had acquired over Louis XVI, by her affection and energy to counteract perfidious counsels.

This naturally calls upon me to draw the character of the Monarch, such as he appeared to me during the revolution.

The King was a model of good sense and probity; he was sometimes hasty, but his generous and amiable disposition too frequently made him listen to counsels apparently originating in fear. It was only on occasions of real and imminent personal danger that he appeared as he ought; resigned,

firm and magnanimous, and vying in greatness with the most vaunted heroes of antiquity. But when it was necessary to act to prevent the danger, the fear of causing one single drop of blood to flow for what he called his own quarrel, made him rely on counsels suggested by pusillanimous minds, who were not unfrequently the friends of his enemies. This condescension was the more fatal to him, as he often did not comply until he had made some display of that power which he still possessed for the defence of his throne; and the repugnance which he shewed to bring it into action, not only emboldened all his enemies, who were irritated by his measures, to prepare new attacks, but contributed likewise to diminish the zeal and ardour of the many brave men, who, always eager to die gloriously in defence of the King's rights, could not brook the idea of being massacred by the mob, or compelled to retreat with ignominy.

This disposition of Louis XVI. to follow the counsels of timid advisers, was afterwards, in the opinion even of the partisans of the revolution, a public calamity. One of them who wrote during the reign of the Directory, exclaims: " How " great, how noble an impulse of Louis the XVI! " Why had he only the force to say, *that he alone*

" *would effect the happiness of the French.* With " equal courage to execute it, we should not " have witnessed the tyranny of Robespierre, " nor the sanguinary fraternity of the revoluti- " onary committees."

But let us resume the history of events. The royal sitting became the signal of insurrection, and the King's orders were for the first time treated with contempt. His Majesty had formally enjoined the three orders to divide themselves, and assemble each separately, in order to deliberate on the plan which had been just proposed. The two first withdrew to their respective hall; the third continued their sitting as National Assembly, when M. de Brézé, master of the ceremonies, appeared with a message from the King ordering the sitting to be ended: Mirabeau got up, and the first to raise the standard of revolt, made that famous reply which afterwards obtained such an unfortunate celebrity: " *Tell* " *those who sent you, that we sit here by the will* " *of the people, and that the power of the bayonet* " *alone shall compel us to withdraw.*"

The Abbé Siéyès collecting himself, amidst the general consternation, audaciously said to the Assembly: " Gentlemen, what you were yes- " terday, you are to-day."

The members of the Tiers Etat were conscious of their being in open rebellion, and that it only depended on the King's pleasure to exercise his right and authority, to cause those to be immediately arrested who were thus acting in disobedience to his orders. In order, therefore, to quiet their apprehensions, they declared that the person of each deputy was inviolable; and that whoever attacked their liberty should be considered as infamous, traitors to their country, and guilty of a capital crime, and that they would bring to punishment whomsoever should advise or execute orders of such a tendency.

The assembly afterwards met and proceeded in a body to M. Necker's to prevail upon him not to resign. The Queen, observing this insurrectionary movement, out of the assembly as well as in their own hall, hearing that the King's orders had been disregarded, and the accounts from Paris advising that the Palais Royal resounded with the most atrocious motions against the Royal Family, sent for M. Necker, and earnestly entreated him to give up his intention of resigning, which he promised both to the King and Queen.

This intelligence was received with the most exulting acclamations by the mob, who were

assembling very riotously about the palace, and they afterwards accompanied M. Necker back to his own house.

The Court had the mortification to witness this triumph. The attachment which the people on that day manifested towards M. Necker, made him in some degree the real king of France. I saw that minister passing along the corridors and galleries of the palace, followed by an applauding multitude; and arrived at his own house, shewing himself at his window and bowing to the people, who answered him with huzzas.

He was afterwards publicly heard to express his regret in not having availed himself of that opportunity, when he could have demanded anything from the King, to obtain the removal of those ministers who had differed in opinion with him while the discussions were pending relative to the royal sitting.

The week which followed this insurrection was a week of constant alarm for the court. All the Clergy, and forty-seven members of the Noblesse passed over to the hall of the Tiers Etat, to join those members who had previously formed themselves into a National Assembly. M. de Juigné,

archbishop of Paris, who had been accused, in the incendiary writings of the day, of having gone during the residence of the Court at Marly, and thrown himself at the King's feet, with the crucifix in his hand, in order to beseech his Majesty not to abandon the cause of religion, inseparable from that of the clergy;—the benevolent M. de Juigné, notwithstanding a virtuous life of sixty years and the numberless charities he was dispensing in his diocese, had been followed by the populace from Versailles, who pelted him there with stones, from the hall of the National Assembly to his own house. He was on this occasion indebted for his life only to the strength of his horses and the skill of his coachman. On his appearing two days afterwards in the National Assembly, attended by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, M. Bailly, the president of the Assembly, observed to him that the act of peace and union he was exercising that day was the only laurel that could be added to his virtues. This caused a witty man to remark that "The Archbishop of "Paris, stoned and complimented, could possibly "make no further objections."

Two parties were now formed at Paris and even at Court. They began to call each other *Aristocrats* and *Democrats*. The seditious group

of the Palais Royal were no longer satisfied with making idle motions. Execution followed deliberation. The King not having supported the trial he wished to make of his power by any act of authority, no longer appeared as an object of terror to the mob, who had, in some measure, just placed M. Necker on the throne. The monarchy was insulted; all respect done away; the sovereignty displaced; and the French Guards had been bribed in their barracks even by some of their own officers; two detachments, one of Swiss Guards, and the other French, were drawn up before the house of the Archbishop of Paris the day he was insulted; the soldiers of the French Guards assured the people that they would not fire upon them, and that if the Swiss did, they would fire upon them.

On the 30th of June, a mob, inflamed by the language of some factious persons, by money distributed from invisible hands, and above all by the general fermentation of the public mind, went to the prison of the Abbaye, where some soldiers of the French guards had been sent, for a breach of discipline. They broke open the prison doors and carried off the prisoners to the Palais Royal, where they remained a whole day. During this time, a deputation of the men who usually com-

posed the groups of that Palace, went to the National Assembly and demanded a pardon for the soldiers. The Assembly feigned an unwillingness to encroach upon the department of the executive power, and merely answered that they would petition the royal clemency in favour of the guilty soldiers; but the people were sensible that, by this act of deference, they were not only assured of the prisoner's pardon, but that they should themselves escape unpunished for any offences of a similar nature which they might afterwards commit. The soldiers were carried back to prison, but were shortly set at liberty by the King's order.

The power of M. Necker at this period was unbounded; he accordingly availed himself of the public effervescence, to advise the King to write to the dissenting members of the Nobility and Clergy, who had just accepted his declaration of the 23d of June without the smallest modification, that, "Sensible of the mark of fidelity "which they gave him by accepting his declaration, his Majesty could not however refrain "from desiring that they would join those who "had not accepted it."

As soon as the deputies of these two first orders

had received the King's request to that effect, which to them was equal to an order, they hastened to obey, like victims who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the public tranquillity. This union was effected on the 27th of June. That day was a day of triumph for the Tiers Etat. Paris and Versailles celebrated, by illuminations, an event which only foreboded new outrages, for it served to throw more victims into the hands of their executioners

The joy occasioned by this union amongst the populace and the partizans of the revolution, by no means contributed to allay the fermentation of the public. The most horrible motions succeeded each other at the Palais Royal, not only against the nobles, who were denominated aristocrats, and against the clergy, whom it was endeavoured to stigmatize by the gross appellation of *Calotins*, but even against the Princes of the house of Bourbon, the Orleans branch excepted; against the Queen's friend, Mad. Polignac; and even against the Queen herself. The French guards, whose fidelity was daily corrupted, were in the most complete state of insubordination, and ready to join the mob in any act of rebellion they might commit; they had already gone several times to the barriers of the capital, where

the duties were collected on the imports of Paris, and which formed one of the most productive branches of the public revenue; * they had threatened to burn them; and the clerks of the revenue no longer collected without fear and trembling the duties imposed on articles of consumption.

The safety of the most distinguished deputies of the two first orders was threatened; the King was on a volcano; the danger was imminent, and of the greater magnitude, as the faction who were desirous of a general disorganization, knew that in the King's counsel they possessed a powerful supporter in a minister who was always disposed to interpret the most violent excesses into the national opinion, with which he invariably advised the King to compound. To that unfortunate disposition of things we must add, that besides the enormous population of Paris, the capital contained, even at that period, a prodigious number of vagabonds and suspicious

* The imports of Paris, according to the official statement of M. Necker, yielded annually fifty-eight millions of livres to the royal treasury, which led that minister to remark, that this branch of the revenues of the King of France exceeded all those of the three kings of Sweeden, Denmark and Sardinia united.

persons who flocked thither from a prospect of political troubles, and that M. Necker had found no other means of curbing them than by instituting public workshops, by which they were supported and kept together in readiness to strike some important blow; that the scarcity of provisions, which was both real and fictitious, afforded a thousand pretences to irritate this assemblage of mobs, and that already bread of an inferior quality had been purposely made, in order to excite the complaints of the lower orders of the people.

The King, with the advice of the majority of his ministry, then came to a resolution of upholding his authority by force, and of dismissing from his counsels such of his ministers as had advised his yielding to the views of the National Assembly, and entrusting them with the exercise of his sovereign power.

The interval of time and distance from the theatre of these events, now authorize me to say to the glory of Maria-Antoinetta, that she was amongst the number who gave the King this spirited advice. The recent history of her august mother informed her what happy changes may be effected by an act of energy at a crisis which

the generality of men would consider as desperate. She had seen that all the sacrifices forced from the King and the two first orders, had only led to new pretensions from the people, and to new disgraces for the Court. She complained of the conduct of those who started public questions, without ever foreseeing the consequences, or considering how much these questions were mutilated when debated upon. Her knowledge of history had taught her, that if the people once obtain small sacrifices, they soon command greater ones, and finally demand such as are impossible; that a Roman emperor having offered his seditious subjects to share the empire with his rival, his offer was rejected; that having afterwards desired that one province might be allotted to him, his request was not granted; and that having at length entreated for his life he was massacred. In the fermentation then so prevalent and in the insatiable avidity of those who kept up that agitation, she already saw the seeds of all those misfortunes which, during the space of four years, had followed each other in such quick succession; and she was one of the few who advised this rebellion to be put down from its very first appearance.

The execution of these energetic counsels was

unfortunately shackled in a variety of ways, as well from a deficiency of talent and courage in those entrusted with their details, as from the obstacles arising from the nature of things.

A camp of six thousand men was formed at the Champ de Mars, under the orders of the Baron de Besenval, a Swiss officer, who enjoyed the special favour of the Queen. Twelve thousand troops, amongst whom was the fine regiment of cavalry of Royal Allemand, commanded by the Prince of Lambesc, of the illustrious house of Lorraine, were quartered in Versailles and the suburbs, and in the vicinity of Paris. The Marshal Broglio, who joined every christian virtue to every military talent, was appointed commander in chief of these troops, a choice which of itself would have been sufficient to repel every doubt injurious to the King's intentions, and to prove that the design of the Court was solely to ensure order and the public tranquillity against the enterprises of the seditious, by measures compatible with the dignity of a great monarch.

That number of men had been thought necessary effectually to resist, not only the populace of Paris, but likewise the four thousand men

of the regiment of guards whose defection was evident.

The secresy it had been necessary to observe, even with the popular ministers whom the King intended to dismiss from his counsels, had occasioned a failure in some of the arrangements necessary for the quartering, pay, subsistence, and forage of this little army. These circumstances, and the proximity of the seditious city, occasioned partial defections amongst the soldiers who had been brought there: but the mass remained faithful, and amongst others every man of the brave fellows of Royal Allemand.

At the sight of these troops, of the cannon, and numerous patrols which protected the King's residence against any insult, many of the deputies were panic-struck. The Count de Mirabeau was not the least dismayed of those members of the National Assembly, who expected from this display of the sovereign power, the speedy punishment of those who had stirred up the people against the Court, and attacked the foundations of the monarchy by their disorganising motions. Fear supplied him with a kind of courage; about the beginning of July, he had offered to prove to the Assembly, that M. Necker had not taken

proper measures to provide against the scarcity with which the kingdom was afflicted: but he had not been able to substantiate his charge, and he had been so completely defeated in this first attack against M. Necker, that nothing but a most inflammatory motion could possibly extricate him from the dilemma into which he had brought himself, with that assembly he had hitherto directed. The assembling of the troops furnished him with an opportunity. A motion, followed up with an address to the King for the removal of the troops, was received and carried with enthusiasm. This address was the production of two very different pens. It was on the one hand couched in terms of insolent menace, while on the other it made protestations of loyalty and fidelity to the King. The first was from Mirabeau, the latter from a man who has since acquired some celebrity in the dominions of his Imperial Majesty. This contrast caused a cotemporary author to say wittily, "That it was too "much love for so many menaces, or too many "menaces for so much love."

The King answered that he had only assembled the troops as a check upon the disaffected and the brigands, who had thronged to Paris on the first rumour of a revolution; that the National

Assembly ought always to consider themselves free and inviolable; but that if they entertained any apprehensions, they were at liberty to remove to Soissons or to Noyon, in which case he would himself reside at Compiègne. The National Assembly, who always gave the King credit for some secret motive, and who had in view themselves to oppose the Parisian populace against him, refused to remove from Paris, but did not, however, insist upon the army being sent away.

The factious leaders, who were blowing up the flames of rebellion, declared in the Assembly and in the groups of the Palais Royal, that cannon, mortars, and bombs, had been placed on the heights of Montmartre to bombard Paris, and that the hall of the Assembly had been undermined, and was to be blown up.* The public, whose minds were wrought up to a degree of phrenzy, could not, or would not see, that no description of persons could possibly be more interested than the court and the ministers in a city not being sacked, which contained

* Some of the fanatic deputies not only asserted that the hall of the Assembly was undermined, but one of them went so far as to pretend that he smelt the powder: to which another deputy, M. le Comte de Virieu, replied, that "powder "had no smell before it was burnt."

every thing that was most dear and valuable to them.

In these perilous circumstances, M. Necker, on the evening of the 11th of July, was ordered to leave the kingdom as secretly as possible. The departure of that minister was known early the next morning, as well as the appointment of a new ministry, amongst whom the Marshal Broglio, the Baron de Breteuil, Messrs. Foulon de la Gelaisüre, and de la Porte filled the principal departments.

Paris and the National Assembly took alarm at this intelligence. M. Necker, appeared for some time past to have become the tutelary angel and the protecting divinity of France. It was of little avail to represent to his enthusiastic panegyrists that France would have been truly unfortunate, if her existence could have depended upon that of a single individual;—the public inquietude looked to him alone for the safety of the state. Had St. Louis and Suger, Henry IV, and Sully, Louis XIV, and Colbert, risen from their tombs to repair the misfortunes of France, they would all have vanished before this quondam clerk, brought from Geneva to Paris to keep the books of the banking house of Thellusson. Such

was the spirit, such the language of the faction of stock-jobbers who set in motion the Palais Royal and the suburbs of the capital, and who served in some measure as the advanced guard of the Orleans faction, who were then preparing their attacks.

As soon as the populace of Paris heard that their chief idol had been sent away, and the report was spread that the Duke of Orleans might likewise be exiled, they went to an exhibition house in the Palais Royal to seek for their figures in wax, and carried them about the streets in triumph. In passing along the square of Louis the XVth, they saw a squadron of the Royal Allemand drawn up, under the orders of the Prince of Lambesc, whom they pelted with stones. The Prince, indignant at seeing his regiment insulted, and well knowing that one offence escaping with impunity, is only the forerunner of greater excesses, resolved to disperse the mob; and, taking the orders of the Baron de Besenval, who happened to be near him, accompanied by a party of his horsemen, he charged this seditious horde. They immediately fled towards the Pont-Tournant of the Thuilleries and threw the two busts of their heroes into the ditch, a nomen of that fate they were afterwards to inflict on the originals.

At that moment a man seized the bridle of the Prince of Lambesc's horse, which he made him loose with a blow from the blade of his sabre. An old man named Cheuvet, a schoolmaster, unable to get away as nimbly as he wished, and falling before the Prince's horse, they immediately exclaimed that the Prince had wounded him with his sabre. Such was the adventure afterwards echoed abroad by all the mouths of the faction as an act of inhumanity towards these unfortunate old men, whereas in reality it was only the act of an officer who had done his duty in maintaining public order and causing his character to be respected. This innocent action was afterwards misrepresented with so much bitter invective, that some people still believe that the mob were cut down, and it would be difficult to undeceive them. The fact, however, is, that the Prince of Lambesc wounded no one. His Aide-de-camp on that day was a young officer belonging to one of the most respectable families of the law, M. Felix le Pelletier, who has since acted the part of a most outrageous demagogue.

The first tumultuous assemblage of the Parisians took place about four o'clock in the afternoon, instigated by a young lawyer, named Camille Desmoulins, who continued afterwards one of

the most active members of the revolution. He had suddenly quitted a coffee-house, and ascending a table in the garden of the Palais Royal, he proclaimed liberty, and harangued the multitude of young men who frequented the coffee-houses and promenade of that garden, soliciting them to raise the standard of insurrection, and to wear some general token by which to rally. The leaf of a tree which he then fixt in his hat was the emblem of the first national cockades, but soon recollecting that green was the colour of the Count d'Artois's livery, and this prince being an object of terror and hatred to the patriots, it was thought necessary to adopt another colour. That of the livery of the Duke of Orleans, with some, and the colours of the old cockade of the citizens of Paris, with others, became the distinguishing signs of insurrection, and that was the origin of the national cockade which has been worn to the present time.

In the mean time the multitude divided into a thousand groups, spread themselves in every quarter of Paris, and broke open the shops of the gun-smiths and sword-cutlers of the capital, carrying off every kind of arms they could meet with.

The riot in the square of Louis the XV. having been quelled by the firmness of the Prince of Lambesc, his regiment returned to their quarters about nine o'clock in the evening. Passing along the Boulevard called the Chaussée d'Antin, opposite the dépôt of the French guards, a company of those mutinous soldiers, whom popular clamour had excited against the Royal Allemand, came out of their barracks, drew up before the gate, and at a few paces distant fired upon them. This discharge killed three men, and wounded several horses. Unable to attack this company in their barracks, and ignorant of the sentiments which prevailed amongst the other companies of this regiment, who were quartered in different parts of Paris, the Prince of Lambesc, unwilling to expose his faithful and valiant troop to the danger of being surrounded by all the populace of Paris, supported by 4,000 men already in open rebellion, ordered a retreat, and fell back on St. Cloud.

M. de Besenval, on that day, was commander in chief of the troops collected in Paris, His adjutant was the same Alexander Berthier, who became afterwards one of the principal personages in France in the new order of things which succeeded the monarchy. The head quarters

had been first of all fixed at the military school. The regiment of Normandy chasseurs arrived about ten o'clock in the evening, on the Boulevard of the suburb St. Antoine. They had marched nine leagues in order to reach Paris on that day, whither they had been so urgently ordered. On their arrival, the General was in vain sought for, in order to take his orders, and learn where to apply for the forage and provisions, which ought to have been provided for the reception of this regiment. They waited two hours without being able to discover where M. de Besenval had taken refuge, and were informed, it being then midnight, of the positive orders he had given that he should on no occasion be disturbed; and the regiment, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, was reduced to the necessity of passing the night on the Boulevard. It may readily be supposed from the discontent excited by this want of precautions, that the soldiers would be rendered easy of corruption.

The confused reports which first reached Paris of these insurrectionary movements, prevented any effectual measures from being taken to repress them. The King's new council was not yet formed; several of the members who were appointed had indeed arrived, and did not quit the

Royal Family; but as yet no one was sufficiently settled at his post to give any well-combined order and cause it to be executed. The first care was to provide for the safety of Versailles, by establishing several pieces of artillery and strong patrols of Swiss guards on the bridge of Sève. There, every carriage going from Paris to Versailles, and from Versailles to Paris, was stopped and very strictly examined. It happened to be a Sunday, and as it was not only customary with the Parisians on that day to crowd to Versailles, and as the news of the morning had likewise spread an alarm and excited an extraordinary curiosity throughout Paris, the road to Versailles, usually covered with carriages, was, on that day, literally blocked up with them. Those of the ministers as well as of the most private individuals underwent the same examination. In this manner, and at a few minutes interval, the carriages filed off one after the other. The populace, elated with the first success they had obtained, had stationed themselves in every street leading to the road of Versailles, obliging the carriages to submit to a new search, and forcing the terrified passengers to cry out some times, *Victoria*, sometimes, Vive le Tiers-Etat!

During the night of Sunday the 12th, until Monday the 13th, this same populace, composed

of the rabble and brigands of every nation, continued to pillage the gunsmith's shops, and to search the houses of such persons as they knew kept fowling pieces, in order to get possession of them. At the break of day, they burnt all the tax offices at the barrier where the duties were collected, and plundered the convent of the Pères de St. Luzara, (formerly a house of correction, but lately converted into a magazine for the provisioning of Paris) and all the grain contained in it, they scattered in the street. They possessed themselves of the cannon of the French guards, and the colours of the city, and the dépôt of the crown jewels in the square of Louis the XVth, was violated, and arms carried off, which could be of no utility to the insurgents, but which were extremely valuable, by their antiquity, workmanship and materials. Of that description, besides many others, were two small plated cannon, a present from the King of Siam to Louis the XIVth. Fortunately neither the royal treasury, nor the bank were attacked by this lawless mob.

It is an anecdote, the truth of which may be relied upon, that the directors of the Caisse d'Escompte who had always been the warmest admirers and the most firm supporters of M. Necker, sent off in great haste a deputation to the Baron

de Breteuil, to request from him an escort and a place of safety to deposit the specie which was in their coffers and which remained there as a security for their notes in circulation. This deputation arrived on Sunday evening at Versailles, and on the following morning returned to Paris, with the minister's orders to receive the specie in question in the Bastile, as the most secure place in that city. The situation of the capital did not allow the removal to take place as had been agreed on, and it proved to be a most fortunate circumstance for the stockholders of this bank.

Whilst this armed crowd were infesting the streets of Paris, the inhabitants were in constant expectation of seeing the King's troops advance in every direction to restore order and disperse this swarm of banditti. Some companies of the French guards who still remained faithful in their barracks, the regiments of dragoons and cavalry which surrounded Paris, the barracks of the Swiss guards, and the camp at the military school could have supplied detachments fully adequate to the maintenance of the police: but not a soldier moved, not a single armed corps appeared; and nobody durst take upon himself to give an order. The Marshal Broglio expected that M. de Besenval would have provided for what was most ur-

gent, and M. de Besenval, on his side, was most shamefully hiding himself to avoid giving orders to his troops, fearful, as it has been since said, that if the riot became serious, the people would plunder his house, where he had lately made the most costly improvements, and built a luxurious apartment with baths, which had become one of the curiosities of the capital.

No assistance arriving to the affrighted Parisians, they sounded the alarm bell in all the districts of the capital. In order to proceed to the election of the deputies, Paris had been divided into sixty districts, each of which had named a certain number of electors. Now the electors of the Tiers-Etat of Paris had continued to assemble occasionally, even subsequently to the meeting of the States-General, and had the audacity to deliberate contrary to law, to vote addresses, and to go to the order of the Tiers-Etat at the States-General, to offer their adhesion to their vote, by which they had constituted themselves into a National Assembly. On that day, they usurped the functions of the municipal body of Paris, and by their own authority convened the inhabitants of the capital to deliberate on such measures of safety as their situation seemed to call for.

The first act of the committee of these electors who had possessed themselves of the municipal authority, was to vote the immediate organization of a National Guard or armed burghers of forty-eight thousand men, each division of whom, as far as it was possible, was to be commanded by officers on leave of absence or those retired from the service, of whom there was always a considerable number at Paris.

It was likewise resolved to take advantage of the great number of deserters who had quitted their regiments to come and take refuge in the districts, and of those soldiers of the French guards, who, after withdrawing themselves from the command of their officers, came to the Guildhall to offer their services. From these disloyal soldiers a company was appointed to each district, under the denomination of central company. It was at the period of the organization of these companies, that the corporals and serjeants of the guards were metamorphosed into lieutenants, several of whom attained afterwards the highest military rank; and without speaking of general Hoche, whose military fortune began at that epoch, I need only mention general Lefevre, who, from a simple serjeant on the 12th of July, became a few days afterwards captain of the cen-

tral company of the district of the Filles St. Thomas, who did not then partake of the general enthusiasm for this revolution, and who always appeared animated with that spirit of loyalty which distinguished this district above all others, as long as there was a National guard.

These battalions were provisionally organized on the evening of the 13th of July. They armed themselves with swords and every kind of weapon they could meet with; they patroled during the night, and succeeded in discovering several hundreds of the brigands who, on the night before, and the morning of the 13th, had plundered the shops, the barriers, the convent of St. Lazarus, the Garde-Meuble of the Crown, and the houses of private persons. But though the brigands were routed, the spirit of plunder was not extinguished. In several districts, the voice of wise and moderate men stifled the clamour and curbed the violence of the enthusiasts and the furious; but in the districts of the city and the suburbs, the populace, who had an entire ascendency, were wholly bent on tumultuous measures. Those very men who had maintained the police during the night, attacked, on the morning of the 14th, the Hôtel des Invalides, which contained an armoury, and plundered it of several thousand mus-

kets which they distributed amongst themselves. This act of insurrection took place within musket shot of the camp of the Military School, composed of from four to five thousand men, yet not a single movement was ordered either to prevent or oppose this pillage. The cannon of the Invalids which were only fired on days of festival and public rejoicings, were carried off. M. de Corny, the King's attorney for the city, was at the head of the insurgents and in their name addressed M. de Sombreuil, governor of the Hôtel, who required that time might be allowed for him to send off a messenger to Versailles and to wait his return. The rector of the parish of St. Etienne du Mont carried off in triumph to the Guildhall the artillery taken from the Invalids.

The Parisian populace, emboldened by impunity, about two o'clock in the afternoon, pressed in crowds to the Bastile, where they expected to find a fresh supply of arms and gunpowder. On this occasion, M. de Launay, the governor, lost his head. He immediately admitted into the interior courts, a number of persons with whom he continued in conference for more than two hours. Observing afterwards the populace approaching in every direction towards the citadel, the defence of which was confided to him, he

ordered the first drawbridge to be raised, and a cannon to be fired, which killed and wounded several of the people in the street St. Antoine. M. de Launay had only thirty men of the regiment of Salis-Samade, and a hundred Invalids who composed the ordinary garrison of the Bastile. Inconsiderable as was this force, it was equal to the defence of the place for several days: but whether the governor could not rely on the fidelity of his little garrison, whether he might have been intimidated by the dreadful vociferations of this furious multitude which inundated all the adjacent streets and squares, or whether he expected to save himself by a capitulation; after having committed the fault of firing on the multitude, he committed a still greater one, by ordering the last drawbridge to be let down which shut the entrance to the citadel. Instantly the enraged populace crowded in, seized and conducted him to the square of the Hôtel de Ville, and there cruelly punished him for his want of foresight, by severing his head from his body, after loading him with blows and insults. His head was fixed on the end of a pike, and carried to the Palais Royal. It was by a most fortunate accident that an inspector of the powder mills, and the Invalids taken at the Arsenal and the Bastile, were rescued form this sanguinary mob: but

it was impossible to save three Invalid officers, who were massacred, and two soldiers, who were hung on the lamp-posts of the Place de Grève.

About half an hour after the death of M. de Launay, M. de Flesselles, Prévôt des Marchands, fell in a manner no less tragical. The following circumstances preceded his death.

The hundred and twenty electors whom the sixty districts of Paris had sent to the Hôtel de Ville to form a provisional municipality, were totally unacquainted with the administration they had usurped. Feeling their inability, they sent for the Prévôt des Marchands, the Procureur du Roi, the four echevins and the greffiers, who together composed the late municipality. When they had joined the electors who had thus put them in requisition, M. de Flesselles, from respect to his office, and high reputation, was unanimously proclaimed president. So that, for twenty-four hours, he was at once the servant of the King, and of the burghers of Paris. His perilous situation, as will be seen, was but of short duration. The hundred and twenty electors soon abandoned the affairs of the city to a permanent committee of twenty-four of themselves, at the head of which they placed M. de Flesselles, and to this perma-

nent committee, the next morning, they added ten new members. Language cannot describe the disorder which then prevailed in the square, and even in the interior of the Hôtel de Ville. The cry of, *arms, arms,* was heard on all sides, at the same time that a prodigious number of carriages of every description was constantly arriving, which had been stopt not only in Paris, but in the environs, and particularly such as were coming from Versailles. Amidst the general noise and confusion, a person was heard to say that there were muskets in the convent of the Chartreux; on which M. de Flesselles ordered that they should be delivered up to the people. After making the most minute search, the deputation which had been sent to the Chartreux not having been able to find any arms, M. de Flesselles began to be accused of having betrayed the people, and of conniving with the court in order to deceive them. Some boxes which had been seized, and brought to the Place de Grève, and supposed to contain arms, were found, on opening them, only to contain articles of wearing apparel and similar effects. Finally, at the very instant they were about to massacre M. de Launay, a report was spread that a letter* had been found in his pocket,

* The original of such a note was never produced. The report

written to him by M. de Flesselles in the morning, urging him to hold out. Amidst the clamours and threats of the people, M. de Flesselles could only answer that they had been shamefully deceived. Some electors endeavoured to justify him, and bore honourable testimony to the zeal and assiduity he had manifested for the last two days. Meanwhile, the fermentation of the populace was extreme. They pressed about the permanent committee, crying out, that they meditated in secret, and when absent from their fellow citizens, the means of betraying them. Nothing was spoken of but plots and manœuvres; M. de Flesselles was loudly accused: he then said: "Since I am suspected by my fellow-citizens, it "is indispensible that I should resign." He then wished to descend from his chair, but was prevented. An elector, one of the permanent committee, said to him: "You will be responsible, "Sir, for every misfortune which may happen. "You have not yet given up the keys of the city

report may have been occasioned by the arrest of a messenger sent by M. de Besenval to M. de Puget, major of the Bastile. He was the bearer of two notes; the contents of the first were as follow: "I send you, my dear Puget, the order you think "necessary, which you will deliver—Paris, July 14th. Besen-"val." And of the second: "M. de Launay will hold out to "the last extremity; I have sent him a sufficient force.—July "14th. 1789. Besenval."

" magazines, in which their arms and particularly " their cannon are deposited." M. de Flesselles made no reply, but presented him the keys. Whereupon, several persons pressing around the committee, in direct terms insulted M. de Flesselles. Some said that he ought to be seized and detained as a hostage; others that he ought to be carried to the prison of the Châtelet; while others were for his being brought to the Palais Royal for trial. This last advice being generally approved, they cryed out on all sides: " To the Palais " Royal." M. de Flesselles coolly answered: " Very well, gentlemen, let us go then to the " Palais Royal." In uttering these words, he descended from his chair, crossed the hall and went out, the multitude still following and pressing about him, but without offering him the smallest violence. In this way he crossed the Place de Grève, until he reached the Quay Pelletier, when a pistol was fired at him by the hand of some unknown person, a ball from which passed through his head and killed him. His dead body was insulted, and his head carried about the streets on the top of a pike with that of M. de Launay.

Thus fell a man whose probity, attainments, and amiable manners, had entitled him to a far better

fate! He had made himself universally beloved at Lyons, where he had been Intendant for some time. There, as at Nantes, several fine monuments he had caused to be erected, still bore his name. On this occasion he thought himself able to serve the king and the people; but in circumstances so terrible, the influence of an individual vanishes amidst popular agitations; the smallest suspicion misleads the judgment, and an infuriate people deals but in murder.

Awful indeed was the night which succeeded the taking of the Bastile, and the massacres which had just been committed. The insurgents were conscious that it was impossible the King should allow attacks upon his authority to escape unpunished, of that serious and criminal nature, which had disgraced all Paris. The alarm bell sounded during the whole night, and the streets of the suburbs, through which it was supposed the King's troops would pass to enter Paris, were unpaved. Drums were beating every where; and at every instant they imagined that they heard the cannon thundering from the heights of Montmartre upon the capital. Nothing, however, could be more absurd and unfounded than these alarms. The King and all the court were

struck with the most profound terror at the account of these massacres, and His Majesty seeing the impossibility, at the pitch it had risen to, either of checking or subduing the insurrection, without causing torrents of blood to flow, steered a course less repugnant to his feelings, and by an excess of clemency, gave to it the sanction of legality.

I must here give a hasty sketch of the proceedings of the National Assembly during these three days.

On Sunday, the 12th of July, as the National Assembly were not sitting on that day, the members were dispersed in Paris, Versailles, and the environs. But as soon as the dismission of M. Necker was known, such of the deputies as were at Versailles assembled spontaneously in the hall of the Assembly; yet, as the sitting was not regular, what passed on that evening was rather to be considered as conversation than deliberation. Dismay, say the journalists who have given an account of this meeting, was painted on every countenance. The fate of the country, and that of the National Assembly, seemed linked to the destiny of the individual person of M. Necker. Mirabeau himself, though an enemy of that

minister, observed in a tone of the greatest despondency, that the deep abyss of calamity into which the country might be plunged, by a change of ministry, could not be contemplated without awe.

On the 13th, the assembly commenced a sitting which was to continue sixty hours successively. They began by declaring their sitting permanent, a revolutionary measure which on this occasion was resorted to for the first time, and faithfully imitated since by every other assembly, whenever they were desirous of accomplishing some new revolution. The sections of the people in their turn soon had recourse to it, and, after them, not a club in France, little and great, but thought they could save their country by declaring themselves permanent.

M. Mounier was the first who spoke on this critical occasion. It was he who gave the first blow to the royal authority, by denouncing the recent change in the ministry, the dismission of the late ministers who had always possessed the confidence of the nation, and who had made way for suspicious men who could never obtain the confidence of the public. And yet M. Mounier, with singular inconsistency, acknowledged

that it was the King's right to change his ministers. In order to render his logic agreeable to the Parisians, he took care to throw into his declamation a few words on the finances. " The " public credit and the safety of the people," said he, " are in danger; their despair, provoked " by the display of menacing preparations, is " insulted; they are surrounded on all sides; the " roads are stopt, and every passage is inter- " cepted." He finished his harrangue by moving that a deputation should wait on the King, to beseech him to recall the disgraced ministers, and that the assembly should come to a solemn resolution never to consent to an ignominious bankruptcy. Two deputies, M. Target, and M. de Lally Tolendal, to whose powerful and rival eloquence the early stages of the revolution were greatly indebted, gave their united support to the eloquence of M. Mounier. The latter, in particular, who was the minister's intimate friend, pronounced a pompous and historical eulogium upon him, to which one might have supposed that nothing could be added, if M. Gouy d'Arcy had not called to mind the celebrated expression of Tacitus, after the death of Burrhus: " The " death of a single individual is a public ca- " lamity."

M. de Lally and M. Gouy d'Arcy were followed by three other deputies of the order of the nobility, M. de Virieu, the Duke of Rochefoucault, and the Count of Clermont Tonnerre, who proposed that all the former resolutions of the assembly should be enforced, without meaning, however, to strike at the King's prerogative, or to encroach upon his right of appointing his own ministers. "As to the oath," said M. de Clermont Tonnerre, "it is useless to renew it; The constitution "must be made, or we exist no more." The rector Gregoire, forgetting that he was the minister of a merciful God, called for an enquiry into the crimes of the ministers, and invoked the vengeance of the laws upon them by appointing a committee of the assembly. Lefranc de Pompignan, the enlightened and venerable Archbishop of Vienne, observed that the language of the reverend rector was intemperate, and that his patriotism led him too far. On this rebuke of the prelate the officious rector explained. Many other deputies spoke on the danger of the country. An account was now received of the pillages and other excesses which had been committed at Paris on the night of the 12th, and the morning of the 13th. The assembly, on the recital of them, resolved, "That a deputation should wait upon the King, to represent

to him the extent of the danger with which the capital and the kingdom were threatened, the necessity of ordering away the troops whose presence irritated the despair of the people, and of confiding the guarding of the city to the Parisian militia."

The deputation returned in the evening with the King's answer, but did not bring with them his Majesty's consent to the organization of a force of armed citizens which the electoral club had been soliciting for several days, and which they were already organizing, though refused by the King.

The monarch's answer on this first occasion was expressed in the following terms:—

" I have already made you acquainted with " my intentions concerning the measures which " the disorderly state of Paris has obliged me to " have recourse to; it belongs to me alone to " judge of their necessity, and I cannot in this " particular make any alteration in them. Some " cities guard themselves; but the extent of the " capital will not admit of a force of that des- " cription. I doubt not the purity of the motives " which lead you to offer me your services at this

" painful conjuncture: your presence at Paris
" would be attended with no advantage; but
" here it is necessary to accelerate the important
" duties you have entered upon, and the com-
" pletion of which I do not cease to recommend
" to your undivided attention."

When the assembly were informed of the King's answer, a motion, declaratory of the responsibility of ministers, was made by M. de la Fayette, who had rendered himself so conspicuous at the sitting of the 11th, by laying down this celebrated revolutionary axiom: *Insurrection is the most sacred of duties.* The close of this day was signalized by a resolution of the assembly, on a motion of M. de la Fayette, derogatory to the respect due to the King, and subversive of his royal authority. It was modelled on the conclusion of the speeches of Messrs. Mounier, Target, and LallyTolendal, and declared—"That M. Necker, and the other ministers who had just been dismissed bore with them their esteem and regret.—That alarmed at the fatal consequences which might be occasioned by the King's answer, they would not cease to insist upon the removal of the extraordinary assemblage of troops in the vicinity of Paris and Versailles, and upon the establishment of the armed force of burghers.

—That no intermediary power could exist between the King and National Assembly.—That the ministers and civil agents of the royal authority, were responsible for every measure contrary to the rights of the nation and decrees of the Assembly.—That the present ministers and counsellors of his Majesty, of whatever rank and condition, or of whatever nature their office, were personally responsible for existing and future calamities.—That the public debt having been placed under the safeguard of French honour and loyalty, and the French nation not refusing to pay the interest, no power possessed the right of pronouncing the infamous word of bankruptcy; and that no power could break its faith with the public, under any shape or disguise whatever."

When this factious resolution had been voted, the National Assembly elected M. de la Fayette to preside during the night, in the absence of the Archbishop of Vienne, whose great age was not equal to such an exertion. A hundred deputies, lying on tables and benches, guarded the hall during the night. The next morning, the Archbishop of Vienne returned from the King to whom he had communicated the resolution of the preceding day, and informed the assembly that his Majesty had contented himself with answer-

ing that he would take it into consideration.—They afterwards coolly proceeded to the verification of the members returned, and the appointing a committee to draw up the basis of a new constitution. This committee was composed of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, Champion de Cicé, the Bishop of Autun, (Talleyrand Périgord), Messieurs de Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally Tollendal, Mounier, Sieyès, Chapelin, and Bergase.

The Count de Mirabeau, who had been the first to move for the ordering away the troops, desired that his motion might be immediately deliberated upon, and that all other business should be adjourned until the King had acquiesced in their demand. The latter part of his proposition was rejected, but the president, and the members who had composed the deputation of the morning were sent to the palace a second time. The Viscount Noailles, the Baron of Wimpffen, and two electors of the Hôtel de Ville, then informed the National Assembly of the taking of the Bastile, and the pillage of the Hôtel des Invalides.

The second deputation on their return from the palace, communicated to the Assembly the King's answer expressed in the following terms: —"I have devoted my constant and anxious

" attention to the measures best calculated to
" re-establish the tranquillity of the capital. I
" had in consequence ordered the Prévôt des
" Marchands, and the municipal officers to
" attend me here, in order to concert with them
" the necessary arrangements. Having been
" since informed of the arming of the citizens,
" *I have directed that general officers should put*
" *themselves at their head, in order to aid them*
" *with their experience, and second the zeal of*
" *the good citizens;* I have moreover ordered
" that the troops at the Champ de Mars should
" remove to a greater distance from Paris. The
" inquietude you express to me on the disturbed
" state of that city, must afflict every heart, and
" deeply affects my own."

This wise and paternal answer, which ought to have quieted the general alarm and removed any apprehensions entertained of the King's intentions, did not satisfy the National Assembly. They sent a third deputation to the King, to inform His Majesty of the siege of the Bastile, and the fermentation occasioned by the resistance which the governor had opposed to the people. The deputation returned immediately with the following answer from the King: " Gentlemen, my heart
" is rent by your relation of the misfortunes of

" Paris. It is impossible to believe that they
" have been caused by the orders given to the
" troops. You are acquainted with my answer
" to your last deputation, to which I have nothing
" to add."

A printed journal, entitled the Procès Verbal des Électeurs, (page 405), says, that M. de la Fayette recommended to the electors who had come to Versailles, to mistrust the general officers whom the government might place at the head of the armed citizens. This insurrection against the royal authority, was the consequence of the principle he had advanced on the preceding day, at a moment when the public mind was in such a state of effervescence. In his seditious counsel to the electors of Paris may be easily seen the ambition he had to obtain from them the command of the armed citizens of Paris, and which, considering the influence which the capital exercised over the provinces, was equivalent to the supreme command of all the armed citizens of the kingdom. The electors were compliant to his counsels, and readily entered into the views of his most ardent ambition by investing him, on the following day, with the command of the national guard of Paris.

So singular was the origin of the power of these electors of Paris, that the imagination can scarcely give credit to it. None but an eye-witness of this revolution would believe that a similar power was ever in existence.

The electors of the deputies of only the Tiers-Etat of Paris to the States-General, though the election had been completed, continued notwithstanding to assemble. They had formed themselves into an electoral club, and this club, placed between the turbulent men of Paris and the National Assembly, was in some measure the regulator of the insurrections. Though chiefly composed of moderate men, yet, as they wished to preserve an existence which had no legal foundation, their situation alone necessarily hurried them into unwarrantable measures. Having no right to command, but wishing to extend their influence over a city so agitated as Paris, they were obliged to be agitators themselves; the multitude would otherwise have seized from them a power which they exercised illegally, as soon as they ceased to be agreeable to them, by manifesting a desire to control them. The impulse they received from the Parisian populace they were afterwards obliged to communicate to the National Assembly, and neither they, nor the

National Assembly, had the power to stop the progress of revolt, when once it had broken out, because the existence of the two bodies was illegal; and because no body illegally constituted can order wise and salutary measures. An authority unsanctioned by law has no claim to respect and obedience, and whenever such an authority is found to establish itself, it is impossible to foresee all the calamities likely to flow from so vitiated a source.

It was through the means of the electoral club, that the revolutionary deputies caused all the insurrections they stood in need of to be organized, It was by their union that they were able to direct and methodise in some degree the revolt of the 14th of July. Without that union a horrible confusion must have ensued, the result of which must have reduced the Parisians to solicit from their King the protection of a regular force. Doubtless, many temporary misfortunes would have happened; but of what weight would these evils have been, compared to the dreadful catastrophes which have since taken place, and are daily recurring?

When it was intended to organize the great insurrection of the 14th of July, the electors

36692

added a committee of twenty-four of their own number to the echevins which formerly composed the legal municipal body of Paris. By that means, they possessed over them an immediate control. M. de Flesselles, Prévôt des Marchands, was president of that incongruous assembly, from its formation, until the moment of his being massacred; an event occasioned by the suspicions excited against his conduct by Garan de Coulon, a member of the committee, and who has since acted a conspicuous part in the revolution. The electoral assembly, of which I am now speaking, was principally composed of lawyers and shopkeepers.

Four members of the committee then sitting at the Hôtel de Ville, were at Versailles, warmly soliciting the assembly to answer a seditious resolution of the electors. At length the following answer was made to them, which was the more remarkable, as it sanctioned, for the first time, the existence and usurped authority of the electors. It diffused the greatest joy amongst them on receiving it on the morning of the 15th.

" The National Assembly, deeply affected by " the misfortunes they had too plainly foreseen, (they had reason to use this language, for it was

the imprudence and indiscretion of their own deliberations which had given rise to them) " has " not ceased to demand the entire and abso- " lute retreat of the extraordinary assemblage of " troops from the capital and the environs: they " have this day again sent two deputations to " the King on this subject which engrosses their " attention by day and night. They communi- " cate to the electors the two answers they have " received; to-morrow they will renew their " request, and, if possible, in terms more urgent: " they will not cease to reiterate it, and to make " new exertions, until they obtain that success " which they are entitled to expect, as well from " the justice of their demand, as from the heart " of the King, when foreign impressions no " longer shall check its generous impulse."

At ten o'clock in the evening, the events of that calamitous day were still unknown at Versailles. The Duke of Liancourt, of the house of Rochefoucault, was the first who informed the King of them. His office of grand master of the wardrobe gave him access to the King's person. He waked His Majesty and communicated to him the horrid tidings, of which none of the generals or officers of the staff of the army of Paris had dared to inform the monarch or his

ministers. M. Berthier, the intendant of Paris, was the only person who, in the evening, had given intelligence of the taking away the arms from the Hôtel of the Invalids, of the attack meditated against the Bastile, and the popular tumult. A nocturnal insurrection of the populace of Paris being dreaded at Versailles, St. Cloud had in consequence been provided with troops; the posts of the bridge of Sève had been reinforced, and the park of St. Cloud, as well as the banks of the Seine, were covered with tents.

When the Duke of Liancourt had made the King acquainted with the total defection of his guards, the taking of the Bastile, the massacres which had been committed, and the rising of more than two hundred thousand men: "It is a "revolt then," said the King, after a pause of a a few moments.—"No, Sire," answered the Duke, "it is a revolution."

The King, now fully sensible that the time of acting had been lost, and that it would be necessary to cause oceans of blood to flow to quell a sedition so general and extensive, resolved to abandon the intention he had formed of supporting his authority and the laws of the state against the factions by the force of arms. He deter-

mined that the massacres should cease which deluged the capital with blood, and of which no one could foresee the end, by ordering his troops to be withdrawn, and by abandoning himself to the overwhelming torrent.

Whilst he was forming this resolution, and the necessary orders were forwarding, the movements made by some detachments of cavalry preparatory to their removal, threw Paris into a new consternation. A man named Parimajou, a member of the committee of electors, imitating the action of Curtius, *devoted himself*, and reconnoitred as far as the barriers of Paris! The streets were unpaved, the suburbs barricaded, trenches made in the principal streets of Paris in order to stop the passage of artillery, lamps and torches placed to light the enemy's march, the alarm bell was rung, and the drum beat to arms all night; in a word, Versailles made Paris tremble, while Paris caused the same terror at Versailles.

At length, the morning of the 15th of July arrived, and the people of Paris learned with great astonishment that the Camp at the military school had struck their tents and filed off towards Versailles in the same morning. The entire regiment of infantry of Vintimille soon after came

over to the Parisians, leaving their officers almost alone. The soldiers knew that they should not only be abundantly supplied with food and liquor, but with as much money as they might demand, and that they should enjoy an uncontroled liberty. Yet what most surprises is, that with baits so alluring, every regiment did not reckon in their ranks a still greater number of disloyal soldiers. One single regiment remained pure; not a man abandoned his illustrious colonel and his colours; not a soldier shewed himself unworthy of the name of his corps; and this was the brave regiment of Royal Allemand.

When the sitting of the Assembly of the 15th was opened, several moderate revolutionary members, Messrs. de Castenis, de Sillery, and de Marguerites, moved respectful addresses to the King concerning the measures to be taken, in order to appease the general tumult: Mirabeau then made the most vehement speech that had yet been delivered in that assembly, and of which I will only give the following apostrophe:—

"Tell the King, that the foreign hords with "which we are environed, received yesterday a "visit from the Princes, the Princesses, the "favourites, and the ladies of the palace, who

" lavished upon them their caresses, their ex-
" hortations, and their presents; tell him, that
" all night, these foreign sattelites, gorged with
" wine and gold, predicted in their sacriligious
" songs the enslavement of France, and offered
" up their savage prayers for the destruction of
" the National Assembly; tell him, that even in
" his palace, his courtiers revelled in mirth and
" dance to the sounds of this barbarous music,
" and that such was the prelude to the massacre
" of Saint Barthélemy.—Tell him, that the great
" Henry, the ancestor he had chosen for his
" model, and whose memory is blessed by a
" grateful universe, allowed provisions to pass
" into rebellious Paris that he was besieging in
" person, while his ferocious counsellors order
" back the supplies which commerce offers to his
" famished but loyal Paris."*

* This part of Mirabeau's speech alluded to a very innocent scene which had passed the night before at the Palace, and was maliciously converted into an act of ferocity; as if the court of Lewis the XVIth had been a den of tigers, and the National Assembly a flock of sheep. The following circumstance gave rise to this declamation. The regiment of Nassau, chasseurs, was quartered in the orangery of the palace of Versailles. Some ladies of the court walking that way in the evening, entered into conversation with the officers of the regiment, who thought it an act of common politeness to attend the ladies back to the palace. It was in the midst of summer,

This factious and declamatory eloquence failed in effect by the immediate appearance of the Duke of Harcourt and the grand master of the ceremonies, with a message, that the King was then coming to the assembly. This intelligence was consoling to all, those excepted whose views it thwarted, and of whom I shall soon have occasion to speak. This particular faction, remarking the joy which the message of the King had so generally diffused, observed, and Mirabeau was again their organ, "that a mournful respect ought "to accompany the first reception offered to the "Monarch by a suffering people, as the silence "of their subjects was an instructive lesson to "Kings."

Lewis the XVIth, accompanied by two of his royal brothers, now appeared in the hall, and the inheritor of a power consolidated by thirteen centuries was obliged to bend before an upstart authority, which, at first formed by the authority of the Monarch, had afterwards constituted themselves illegally. There, uncovered, without any formalities, and even without seating himself on

and the officers were invited into the palace, and served with ices and other refreshments, while the music of the regiment played on the terrace. And this was the mad revelry which Mirabeau called the prelude of a new St. Barthélemy.

an elbow chair, which had been elevated for him on a platform, he delivered, according to Barrère himself, with a paternal dignity and the most affecting tone of goodness, the following speech: "Gentlemen, I have convened you in order to "consult you on the most important affairs of the "state; there are none more urgent, nor which "more deeply affect me, than the horrid excesses "of the capital. The chief of the nation appears "with confidence amidst its representatives, to "express to them his concern, and invite them "to devise such means as are best calculated to "restore order and tranquillity.—I know that "unjust prejudices have been raised; I know "that some men have dared to publish that your "persons were not in safety; alas! would it then "have been necessary to tranquillize you on such "criminal reports, previously discountenanced "by my known disposition and general senti-"ments?—But, Gentlemen, it is I who identify "myself with my nation, it is I who confide in "you; assist me then, at this conjuncture, to "ensure the welfare of the state: I expect it "from the National Assembly. The zeal of the "representatives of my people, assembled for the "public weal, is a sufficient pledge to me of their "success. Relying on the love and fidelity of my "subjects, I have ordered the troops to remove

" from Paris and Versailles. I authorise, nay " even solicit you to make my intentions known " to the capital."

This conciliatory language was followed by the applauses and acclamations of all the assembly. Fear was now succeeded by enthusiasm and joy. The National Assembly was at length solemnly acknowledged by the King; it was a triumph, and was the first victory obtained over the monarchy. Accordingly, after the archbishop of Paris had returned an answer to the King *full of clemency*, the assembly hastily followed His Majesty out of the Hall, and conducted him back to the palace.

I was a spectator of this orderless return. I read the next morning a faithful and animated account of it published by Barrère in his paper of the *Point du Jour*. I transcribed it, and shall readily insert it, because my duty leads me to shew how men have varied in the progress of the revolution in France. The reader is about to see how that man thought and expressed himself at that period, who, a few years after, became one of the bitterest enemies of the King and Queen.

" The whole assembly," said he, " precipitately

" followed the footsteps of his Majesty, and with-
" out having had time to concert with each other,
" each member felt, at the same time, an incli-
" nation to accompany him in procession from
" the hall to the palace.

" This impulse so sensibly affected the Mo-
" narch, that he returned to the palace on foot.
" The chief of the nation, surrounded by the
" three orders of its representatives, mingled and
" confounded by one common sentiment for the
" common father, walked through the multitude,
" who, by their cries of *long live the King*, with
" which they rent the air, by their joy, by a
" thousand expressions of love, by their eager-
" ness to place themselves before the palisades,
" and by the numerous groups they formed about
" the statues, seemed to have less the sense, than
" the delirium of joy. This march, more affect-
" ing and more glorious for the sovereign than
" the regular pomp of that which was observed
" on the opening of the States-General, produced
" likewise far different impressions on the minds
" of the public. The former captivated the sight,
" and exalted the imagination: but the latter
" deeply affected the feelings of the heart, and
" caused tears of sympathy to flow from the eyes
" of every spectator. This spectacle, unexam-

" pled in the annals of the Monarchy, was con-
" cluded by a scene equally grand and affecting.
" The Queen, standing at the balcony which
" forms the depth of the facade of the palace,
" held the Dauphin in her arms, presenting
" him to the people, and embracing him by
" turns.

" The King, mindful, amidst the civic fête,
" that it was the beneficent work of heaven, has-
" tened to his chapel, and returned a solemn
" thanksgiving to the Almighty for having pre-
" served to him the love of his people, in such
" times of terror and calamity. On entering his
" chapel, he received a new testimony of their
" love, by loud expressions of joy which, even in
" the temple of God, a mortal might deserve,
" who had just shewn himself the affecting image
" of an all-protecting divinity."

Who could think that the same man who, in 1789, drew so faithful and glowing a picture of the love of the French for their sovereign, and the goodness of the latter, would four years after have been the foremost to shed their blood! that this amiable Princess he was holding up to all France in so interesting a situation, would so soon be drawn by the same pencils as a ferocious mon-

ster who could not expire under too many torments? But I will not here extend my reflections on the subject, as he will furnish me in the sequel with many traits no less degrading to humanity, than difficult to believe.

Intelligence of the King's appearing at the National Assembly had been rapidly conveyed to Paris, and the most perfect security had succeeded the just alarms which the rebellion of the Parisians had created in their minds. The National Assembly had just been acknowledged by the King; and they on their part hastened to send a deputation to Paris, to acknowledge, and even compliment the new self-created authority, who had established themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, in imitation of the National Assembly. On their arrival at Paris the deputation from Versailles was received with every mark of homage and respect which joy and enthusiasm could bestow, accompanied with the blessings of the multitude; and the Archbishop of Paris, who was one of the deputies, caused a Te Deum to be sung in his cathedral, in thanksgiving for the happy union about to be restored between the chief of the nation and its representatives.

M. de la Fayette, who was a member of this

deputation, read to the electors the speech which the King had addressed in the morning to the National Assembly; he was immediately rewarded for the zeal he had displayed at that critical juncture, for the insurrectional sentences he had dealt out in the tribune, and for the factious counsels he had given to the electors, who appointed him to the chief command of the Parisian militia by general acclamation. Thus was that general invested in a moment, by a few lawyers and shopkeepers, with the command of an army of forty-eight thousand men. The King, from that day, was never so powerful as this new king of the mobility.

M. de Lally-Tolendal, accustomed to harangue whenever an opportunity offered, could not remain silent on an occasion so solemn. He delivered a speech with an eloquence peculiar to himself, but in which the necessity he had brought upon himself of flattering the multitude, from his frequent harangues, made him introduce many false declamatory phrases, and these amongst others: " We shared your resentment, *it was* " *just* . . . . The King has confided *in us*, that " is, *in you*; he has asked counsel *from us*, that " is, *from you*. We have carried him in triumph " . . . . *there is no longer a bad citizen amongst*

" *you*, all is calm . . . *We have admired the* " *order of your police*," (five men had been massacred a few hours before and the murderers not punished) " your general arrangements, and " plans of defence . . . but peace must now be " restored amongst you." He finished, by repeating to the electors, in the name of the National Assembly, the same words which the King had addressed to the representatives of the people: " *We confide in you*, it is our wish, and it ex- " presses all we feel."

Such was the enthusiasm excited by the harangue of M. de Lally-Tolendal, that they placed a civic crown upon his head in recompence for the dignity almost royal with which he had just invested the electoral committee. Thus arrayed, he was eagerly carried to the window of the Hôtel de Ville, and presented to the people. Indeed the love of these electors might have proved fatal to him, if, on that day of crowning and presenting at the new court of the Place de Grève, M. Bailly had not appeared as a candidate for the adorations of these worthy electors. As only one crown had been prepared, they were reduced to the necessity of removing the transient laurels which had already encircled the head of M. de Lally, in order to place them on the head of the

illustrious astronomer. M. Bailly, thus crowned mayor, was offered to his people in that array, in spite of the obstinate resistance of his modesty; having been at first supposed to decline his new honours, some of the spectators hastily exclaimed: "Does the rascal refuse?" Such already was the civility and gratitude of the good people of Paris for their elected!

The greater number of the inhabitants of Paris (who gave the impulse to all France) then believed that the revolutionary disasters would be renewed no more, and that a wise constitution would peaceably be established. The bulk of the nation did not, nor could not foresee the resistance they ought to have opposed to such changes; and their error on that occasion gave rise to all those violent commotions which laid the foundation for their own misery and enslavement.

On the day which succeeded these memorable events, the assembly were considerably agitated; the important subject of debate, whether they should again petition the King to dismiss the ministry appointed in the room of M. Necker's, gave occasion to it. It was necessary to their views to throw all the odium of the late events

on the present ministry; and, guilty or innocent, they resolved upon their punishment.

A division then broke out amongst the partisans of the revolution. Barrère and Mirabeau unequivocally declared that it was necessary to petition the Monarch to remove perfidious counsellors whose measures had been productive of so many calamities. More moderate members, who were as inimical to the new administration as the most violent members of the assembly, maintained that the motion tended to subvert that independence so essential to the kingly power.

Strange perversion of principles! The same men who had attacked the independence of the royal power in forcing the King to dismiss his troops, by telling the people that their resentment was just, were now afraid of striking at the royal authority, by demanding of the Monarch the dismissing of his present ministers!

The debate was long and animated. Mirabeau took a distinguished part in it; and, while he criticised, bestowed a warm eulogium on the English constitution. After attacking the system of the balance of powers which forms its basis, he declared himself favourable to the right of im-

peachment possessed by the British Parliament, and expressed himself on this important subject in the following terms;

" Do you not then perceive how much more " lenient is my system towards a minister than " yours! How much more moderate! You " admit of no interval between a gloomy silence " and a sanguinary resolve: To be silent or pu- " nish, to obey or strike, such is your system; " but I forewarn before I accuse, and blame be- " fore I stigmatise; I offer a retreat to heedless- " ness or incapacity, before I reproach them with " crimes. Whose opinions are the most circum- " spect and equitable? But, look at Great Bri- " tain, say you, and behold the popular agitations " occasioned by that right against which you " contend! It is that which has ruined England " . . . England ruined! Good Heavens! what " dreadful tidings! Alas! by what event, " what earthquake, what convulsion of nature, " has this celebrated island been swallowed " up, this inexhaustible focus of such great ex- " amples, this classical land of liberty? . . . " But you remove my fears . . . England still " flourishes, for the eternal instruction of the " world; England, in glorious tranquillity, heals " the wounds which in an ardent fever she in-

" flicted upon herself; England develops every " species of industry, opens every channel of " human prosperity, &c."

This debate was interrupted by the intelligence of the Marshal Broglio and M. de Barentin, garde des sceaux, having resigned; that all the troops both in Paris and the environs were to march that day for their respective garrisons, and that the King recalled M. Necker.

Meanwhile, Paris continued to be agitated by secret agents, who endeavoured to throw doubts on the intentions of the King. By the intrigues of those agents, the districts were rendered mistrustful and gave credit to every suspicion; they feigned astonishment at the troops not being already twenty leagues from the capital, the very day after the King had surrendered himself in it. The sudden turn which affairs had taken from the non-resistance of the court, had disappointed the ambition of many, and it was resolved to petition the King to come to Paris; a deputation of sixty electors was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

M. Bailly, who had just received advice of it from Paris, was visited by M. Vicq-d'Azyr, first

physician of the Queen, and a member of the French academy. After conversing some time on the situation of affairs, they agreed that at the present juncture it was advisable that the King should go to Paris, and M. Vicq-d'Azyr undertook to mention it to the Queen. The departure of his Majesty having been resolved upon for the following day, it would seem that the influence of Maria-Antoinetta was not wanting in determining the King. M. Bailly was sent for to the palace at eight in the morning, and the King communicated to him his intention of going to Paris on the following day, without guards or escort, in order to endeavour by his presence, and at the risk of his life, to put an end to the anarchy and troubles which reigned in the capital. The King had been deeply affected by the murders which had been committed. On its being proposed to him to go to the Thuileries, if he felt any repugnance to go to the Hôtel de Ville, he declined it, saying with great firmness he would go to the Hôtel de Ville.

During this interval, the National Assembly had resolved that the address demanding the dismission of the new ministers, and the recal of M. Necker, should be carried to the King.

On the same day an extraordinary circumstance occurred in the National Assembly: A letter from the first president of the parliament of Paris, Bochard de Saron, to the president of the National Assembly, was read, communicating a resolution which the Parliament had just adopted, signifying, that having been informed of the order given to the troops to withdraw from Paris and Versailles, they had resolved that the first President should immediately wait upon His Majesty, in order to thank him for the proofs he had just given of his love for his people, and of his confidence in their representatives, whose zeal and patriotism had contributed to restore public tranquillity; and that the first President should *only communicate* this resolution to the National Assembly. Now, the first President had already carried it to the King. Accordingly, when the distinction was remarked which the Parliament made between the Monarch and the National Assembly, the latter felt indignant: and such was the force of the *esprit de corps*, that on this occasion the Dukes of Aiguillon, de Luynes, de Praslin, and de la Rochfoucault, the President de St. Fargeau, Messieurs Dionis du Séjour, Dupont, Fréteau, and M. d'Esprémenil himself, all members of the Parliament, exclaimed against this indecorum and glaring dis-

respect towards the nation; and the President of the National Assembly was ordered to signify their displeasure to M. Bochard de Saron.

Thus did this great body, who for many years had been the soul of every movement, find themselves suddenly reduced to silence and insignificance, by that very union of men whose convocation they had themselves demanded with so much persevering inveteracy. A few months after this last measure, they disappeared without resistance; their name had sunk into oblivion, and no traces of their former existence were discernible.

On the same day, the demolition of the Bastile, a citadel belonging to the King, was likewise ordered by the permanent committee of the electors, who exercised provisionally the functions of the municipality: and it was proposed that the National Assembly should be prevailed upon to sanction the order. The motion was overruled; but it was arrogantly observed that the National Assembly having no kind of authority in Paris, they could not concur in the order given to pull down the Bastile. Yet the demolition of this prison was ordered *in the name of the law*, and M. de la Fayette commanded to carry it into execution. From traits like these,

a judgment may be formed of the anarchy and folly in which every department was involved.

After the retreat of the ministers, it became dangerous to any persons known to enjoy the confidence of Their Majesties to remain not only in Versailles, but in any part of France. The Count d'Artois, who had devoted himself to the popular fury, by standing up in defence of the ancient laws of the state and the prerogatives of the nobility, offered to His Majesty to go, in his stead, and face a furious capital, or at least to accompany him in the visit which he intended making the next morning to the Hôtel de Ville. The King, who was not ignorant that on the preceding day a reward had been offered for the head of his brother, was the first to advise, and even to order him immediately to leave the kingdom, and to reside in a foreign country, until happier and more tranquil times should permit him to return and enjoy that love which the French Nation before these disastrous events, had always cherished for the family of their Kings. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th, the Count d'Artois, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Duke de Berry, his two sons; the three Princes of the house of Condé, the Prince de Condé, the Duke de Bourbon, and the Duke

d'Enghien, accompanied by the Prince de Conti, took leave of His Majesty, previous to their quitting the kingdom. They were attended by the gentlemen and other persons of their establishments, who were particularly attached to them. Seven Princes of the blood royal of France could not more completely humiliate the citizens of Paris than by seeking their safety in flying from their sanguinary fury.

On the same morning, most of the ministers whose removal the National Assembly had just demanded, took their departure for foreign countries. The Marshal Broglio was amongst the number; this gallant officer, loaded with laurels which he had gained in combating the enemies of his country, was reduced to the necessity, at the age of seventy, to seek an asylum at Luxemburg.

All these illustrious fugitives did not effect their departure without imminent danger. The most minute precautions were found necessary to enable the Count d'Artois to leave his house unperceived, as it was feared that he would be assassinated. He set out at the break of day, when the inhabitants of Versailles, no less agitated than those of Paris, were still asleep. A

regiment, whose loyalty could be relied upon, waited for him and escorted his carriages, which were likewise protected by two pieces of cannon, until he had reached a certain distance. The Prince de Condé set out from Chantilly, and narrowly escaped being precipitated into the river Oise, on the bridge of Saint-Maxence, a small town in the bailiwick of Crépy-en-Valois, of which the Duke of Orleans was Lord. Some men who had been sent off full speed from Paris in pursuit of the Prince had raised all the peasants of the environs. Fortunately, the carriages, drawn by excellent horses, had, before the arrival of these furious emissaries, got so far beyond Saint-Maxence as to render it impossible to be overtaken by them.

The Marshal de Castries was likewise amongst the number of distinguished personages who were obliged to leave the capital at this period. Thus was France deprived on the same day of almost all the Princes of the blood, and of three Generals who, by victories and brilliant actions, had supported the honour of the French arms in the seven years war. Such was the recompence they obtained after thirty years' glory!

Friendship and honour were alike destined to

undergo the most severe trials. The Queen was informed of all the motions which were made at the Palais Royal, not only against herself, but against every individual whom she honoured with her attachment and particular confidence. On the 16th of July, at eight o'clock in the evening, she sent for the Duke and Duchess of Polignac,* and urged them to set off that same night.

This request, which became an order for the faithful servants of the King and Queen, occasioned a warm contention of sensibility between these august and unfortunate friends. M. and Madame de Polignac, in contemplating the dangers to which the Royal Family and their

* I was frequently an eye-witness of the most atrocious motions made against the Duchess of Polignac: but I shall scarcely obtain belief in relating, that this lady had already been publicly denounced at the Théâtre François, by a low buffoon named Dugazon, on whom the Queen and her friend had bestowed numberless proofs of their benevolence. I was myself at the theatre when the Partie de Chasse d'Henri IV, by Collet, was performed, and heard this low comedian, in the character of Lucas, make a parody on a passage of his part in which a favourite of the Queen Maria de Medicis was mentioned, and change the name of Signora Leonora Galigai, into that of Signora Polignaqui; and the pit applauded this indecent and insolent buffoonery!

beloved offspring, from whom they were to tear themselves, would be exposed, overlooked their own. They were anxious to remain: but the Queen, who knew the value of time, was not to be shaken, and bursting into tears, addressed to them the following words, as communicated to me by Madame Polignac herself:—" The King " goes to Paris to-morrow; if he was desired . . " . . . . I fear the consequences; in the name " of our friendship, set off: there is yet time to " withdraw yourselves from the fury of my ene- " mies; their malice in attacking you, is levelled " more against me than against yourselves. Do " not be the victims of your attachment and my " friendship." The King entering at this instant, the Queen said to him: " Assist me to persuade " these faithful friends that it is necessary they " should quit us." The King approaching the Duke and Duchess de Polignac, assured them that the Queen's advice was the only course to be followed, and added these words: " My cruel " destiny compels me to order from me all whom " I esteem and love: I have just ordered the " Count d'Artois to set off; I give you the same " order. Pity me, but lose not a single moment; " take your family with you; rely on me at all " times; you shall continue to hold your offices."

The King, in separating from M. and Madame de Polignac, could not refrain from shedding tears. But the situation of Maria-Antoinetta, at that moment, cannot be described. She found herself necessarily forsaken by all who had heretofore formed her most intimate society; her consort the next day was to present himself to an exasperated crowd, and to endeavour by his presence to appease the rebellion. The result of his journey it was impossible to foresee. Overwhelmed with sorrow and grief of every kind, the Queen summoned up her fortitude, and at midnight sent the following note to the Dutchess de Polignac: "Adieu, most tender of friends! "how painful to me is that word! but it is "necessary. Adieu! my spirits scarcely allow "me to tell you how much your absence will "afflict me."

M. and Madame de Polignac, their sister, the Countess Diane de Polignac, and their daughter, the Dutchess de Guiche, set out for Basle, where they arrived in three days, after being exposed to the most imminent risks. There, they met M. Necker, who had gone from Brussels to Switzerland, and they were the first who informed him of the events of those fatal days.

The murders which had been committed at Paris, a few days after the 17th of July, when there was reason to hope that every resentment was calmed, would amply justify the emigration that now commenced, and which soon became general, because the proscription became universal. The King's friends, from every species of enormity which were committed, were forced to fly; and when the victims escaped the fury of the populace, they reproached them with cowardice or selfishness, basely stigmatising those whose blood they could not spill.

The Tiers-Etat, on the 17th of June, by declaring themselves a National Assembly, had aimed the first blow against the organization of the kingdom. The King, on the 17th of July, by going to Paris, confirmed the new order of things.

I had not quitted the Palace of Versailles for a moment, during the five disastrous days which had just elapsed. I was ready to fly wherever I might be useful. I witnessed the profound grief which clouded the city of Versailles, when the French Monarch, the descendant of Henry IVth. and Louis XIV. that King whose name, so lately, was never pronounced without

recalling to the mind his love for his subjects, and inspiring the imagination with ideas of respect, of power, and of grandeur, was seen to set out alone, without state and almost without guards, in order to go and face the armed populace of a furious capital, and sanction their rebellion. I joined the small retinue which followed the King to Paris, and saw this Prince, on his arrival at the gate de la Conférence, obliged to dismiss the few body guards who had accompanied him, and to continue his route surrounded by the same rebellious soldiers who, a few days before, were his own French guards, and protected by the cannon which had been carried off from the Hôtel des Invalides and from the Bastile. These trophies of insurrection were even pointed against the King's carriage and seemed to menace him.

I saw M. Bailly, the new Mayor of Paris, in the first moment of enthusiasm, not to say stupefaction, occasioned by his recent dignity, indulge in a silly play upon words, which reminded the King of his being vanquished and laid prostrate at the discretion of the people. "Sire," said he, "formerly Henry IV. conquered his "people; but now the people have conquered "their King."

I heard a musket fired at a small distance from the King's carriage, which mortally wounded a poor woman. Whether these accidents happened from negligence or from a criminal intention, the situation of the King was no less perilous and alarming.*

The electoral body of Paris, who had sent a numerous deputation to receive his Majesty at the Barrier, had the effrontery to propose to the inhabitants of Versailles, who had accompanied the King, and regarded him as their property, to deliver up to them eight citizens of Paris as hostages for the sacred person of the Monarch; as if the King belonged only to the city of Versailles, and as if eight obscure individuals could represent the august chief of the nation! But a general frenzy at that time possessed the minds of the inhabitants of Paris.

The new national guard of Paris, that is, almost all the male population of the capital, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand men, lined the streets in three ranks through which the King was to pass in his way to the Hôtel de Ville.

* The King had permitted four noblemen to accompany him: the Marshal de Beauveau, the Duke de Villeroi, the Duke de Villequier, and the Comte d'Estaing.

This procession lasted near two hours. At length, I saw the King ascend those steps which were yet stained with the blood of the unfortunate De Launay; and, on entering the Hôtel de Ville, his Majesty was constrained to hear the intemperate speeches of several deputies and members of the municipal body. Although these speeches were couched in terms respectful, both to the person and character of the King, yet, as the orators invariably represented him as a prince who had been deceived by perverse men, and in his name told the people *that he would no longer seek to obtain any thing by force*, they stripped him of his authority, and made him contract a sort of tacit engagement to conform to the future will of the nation. One of the orators, in several passages of his speech, having made use of the expressions, "Behold him, Citizens, behold him, Frenchmen, "that King, who, &c." he was justly accused of having paraphrased the *Ecce Homo*. The same circumstances, said they, gave rise again to the same expressions. The King, stunned by the noise of the Place de Grève and the interior of the Hôtel de Ville, fatigued by the irksomeness of his situation, and overpowered by the heat, attempted several times to speak to the people: but his feelings would not allow him to articulate a word. M. Bailly gave him one of the new three-coloured

cockades, which he placed in his hat, and with which he shewed himself to the people, from one of the windows of the Guildhall. A general shout was now heard of, *Long live the King!* on which His Majesty said with transport, "*My "people may always rely on my affection.*" On this celebrated day the King confirmed, for form sake, the appointment of M. Bailly to the Mayoralty of Paris, and that of M. de la Fayette to the command of the national guard of that capital. It may easily be supposed that he did not come to Paris to refuse any thing.

It was not until nine o'clock in the evening that the King was able to return to Versailles, to repose himself and take some refreshment. His presence dissipated the apprehensions of the Queen, whose sufferings, on that trying day, may be easily conceived. Couriers, posted on the road by her orders, had brought intelligence of the King to her every hour.

It would seem, after this act of condescension which the King had just manifested, that tranquillity ought to have been re-established; that the people, no longer in dread, ought to have returned peaceably to their occupations; and that nothing remained to the National Assembly, since it was

the folly of the times, but to draw up a written constitution.

But the chiefs of a secret and perfidious club, who wished to remove the chief of the state and replace him by a lieutenant-general of the kingdom, determined otherwise. This club, by means of their agents, exercised a continual influence over the operations of the new municipality of Paris, over the clubs of divers other factions, and the motion-makers of the districts, and the Palais Royal. Its emissaries spread themselves every where, distributing money with the most lavish hands; enormous sums were spent, and the fact is easy to prove, as they had the effrontery to offer notes for discount on the exchange, signed by the Duke of Orleans and made payable to the order of his partisans. Those who really thought they were effecting the establishment of a national liberty, were indirectly promoting the views of that faction, by assisting in the total destruction of the ancient edifice of the monarchy.

The royal authority was paralysed every where and at the same moment. Each parish had its municipality and its own national guard, independent of each other. Forty-four thousand republics were thus suddenly formed in the bosom of a vast monarchy.

The municipality of Paris, the first that was organized, exercised, at the commencement, a kind of supremacy over the neighbouring municipalities. They seized upon the finances of the State, and, drew largely upon the public treasury, for the endless expenses which a state of anarchy called upon them to provide for; every day, on the eve of seeing Paris fail in the supply of provisions, they sent to the neighbouring villages and towns, and forcibly brought away their means of subsistence. But their expeditions did not always succeed; their purveyors were frequently worsted, and the dread in which they stood of the populace, made the members of this republic repent, more than once, of the extreme avidity with which they had seized the reins of government.

The army was as yet devoted to the King: but the factious party began to tamper with the soldiers by every practicable means; they set them against their officers, by representing the latter as the instruments of despotism and the tyrants of their inferiors, while they instructed the former to assemble in deliberate bodies; they insinuated to them that most of the regiments were in their interests, and would, on the first signal, come over to them; the places of their

officers were at the same time held out as the future recompence of those who should be most instrumental in destroying the discipline of the army. Private soldiers and serjeants had already, on different occasions, been promoted to superior and lucrative ranks in the national guard of the place where their regiments were in garrison.

The complete dissolution of the regiment of French guards was soon effected by the sudden defection of the four companies who were on duty at the Palace of Versailles on the 12th and 17th of July, and had consequently participated in the insurrection of the rest. This regiment, and the deserters from the different corps which had been assembled about Paris, formed a total of six thousand men, without chiefs or subordination. They could find no other expedient, to get rid of this tumultuous soldiery, but by forming sixty companies, each of a hundred men, who were taken into pay, under the denomination of companies of the center. The serjeants and corporals were made captains and lieutenants, with a pay of from 1,200 to 3,000 livres.

The King was obliged, on the 21st of July, to write to M. de la Fayette, that he authorised the French guards and the soldiers of the different

regiments who had abandoned their colours, to enter the national guard of his capital.

I have already observed that the revolution which had dispersed the Princes of the blood, and obliged the King to render the Monarchy subordinate to the authority of an assembly which had already abrogated most of the ancient laws and customs, had received the sanction of a declaration of the Parliament of Paris; that several peers of the kingdom had disapproved of the arrêté of the parliament, as disrespectful to the National Assembly, and had caused it to be amended; and that they had themselves contributed to abolish an authority, the overthrow of which must necessarily involve the loss of their own power and dignities.

A considerable number of Noblemen, dismayed by the effervescence of the public mind, soon followed the example of the Parliament, and yielded to the general torrent. Thus did the course of events chain to the fortune of the assembly all those whose contrary interests seemed calculated to render them their adversaries. The new doctrines, so fascinating to ardent imaginations, had vilified and ridiculed in the minds of a part of the Noblesse, those prerogatives and rights on the basis of which their very existence

reposed. Terror triumphed over the others. It was amongst this last body of men that the most violent parties afterwards found such numerous auxiliaries. Almost all those who at first had been inimical to the new system, which from fear, or some other base motive, they had been forced to embrace, became afterwards the most sanguinary supporters of the revolution; and it was then justly denominated the revolution of fear.

After Paris had raised the standard of insurrection, all the kingdom rallied round it. Paris styled itself *the country*; its Hôtel de Ville called itself *the nation*; its Palais Royal publickly drew up lists of proscriptions; its populace executed them, and flight was not always allowed to such as were inscribed on those fatal lists. Three millions of armed peasants, spread over the whole kingdom, stopped all travellers, verified the descriptions of their persons, and brought the victims back to Paris; and the Hôtel de Ville could not always rescue them from the fury of the patriotic executioners. The National Assembly, in stirring up the people to revolt, had indeed been able to subvert a throne; but they were never able to save a citizen. A time was to arrive when this assembly, held in such constant contempt, might

say to the national army: "*You have saved us "from the royal authority, but who shall save us "from yours?*" The assembly, hurried on by the appearance of the authority they were exercising, did not look back to the history of the long parliament and the army of Cromwell; of that parliament, who, aided by the army, triumphed over the King, but who, in triumphing, fell, because they could not get rid of the army. In fact, when an army is raised in order to controul an existing authority, the army remains when the revolution is accomplished; and that military force afterwards makes those tremble whom they had before rendered so formidable.

The theatres had not long been opened again, to celebrate this hollow peace which had been just concluded, when M. Foulon, formerly a magistrate, and intended for the financial department in the new administration, which was to have been formed about the 12th of July, and M. Berthier, his son-in-law, the intendant of Paris, were brought to the capital; the former by the peasants of his estate to which he had fled for safety; the latter by the new municipality of Compiègne, where he had been arrested, in endeavouring to emigrate. The populace of Paris, collected on the Place de Grève, inflicted on both

these venerable magistrates, whose lives had been devoted to public affairs, a most horrible punishment. They expired under cruelties unexampled even amongst barbarous nations. Their heads were exhibited in Paris at the end of a pike, and the palpitating members of M. Berthier were carried about the Palais Royal, by torch light, on the 21st of July. The municipality, on this occasion, only opposed a very feeble resistance to the fury of the people,

The day after these horrid events, a deputy, M. de Lally-Tolendal, with great warmth and energy, called the earnest attention of the assembly to the outrages which were committing, and to the measures necessary to be taken in order to repress them; but the effect produced by his eloquent speech, ceased on the reply of a young deputy, of great influence on the side of the assembly which affected the most patriotism: "Is "then," said he coolly, "that blood so pure which "has been spilt, that it should excite much of "our regret?" execrable words, and rendered more horrible by the youth of him who uttered them!

Anarchy and fermentation spread on all sides, with astonishing rapidity. The smallest town

considered it a duty to be in a state of insurrection. And several of them, following the example of the capital of France, thought it no less their duty to offer up bloody victims to the altar of the revolution. Châtel, the mayor of St. Denis, was massacred by the populace. Sauvage, a farmer of St. Germain, underwent the same fate. A corn-factor, named Thomassin, was going to be suspended at the lantern post, when a deputation of the National Assembly arrived full speed at St. Germain. They were at first treated with contempt, and all of them near being hung themselves. However, the bishop of Chartres, who supplicated the populace on his knees, prevailed upon them to consent to the accused being conveyed to the prison of Versailles, in order to be tried there: but they were determined to convince themselves that the promise was fulfilled. Accordingly, a deputation of the populace of St. Germain followed both the accused and the deputation of the National Assembly to Versailles, where the unhappy man experienced the form of a trial, and was hung almost immediately after his arrival. The monopoly of corn was the pretext of these barbarous executions. The bad harvest of the preceding year, but still more the anarchy, which made the farmers fearful that their corn, if sent to market, would be plundered

by the banditti of the towns, had occasioned a real scarcity. On those sanguinary occasions, the women surpassed the most atrocious men in barbarity and ferocity. In order to imitate the assassins of Paris, they generally cut off the heads of the victims, and presented them as a bloody homage to those who had first set the horrible example.

A parricide having been sentenced to death by the criminal tribunal of Versailles; the populace, on the day fixed for his execution, assembled and rescued the culprit. Yet all this passed with impunity before the eyes of the King, of the National Assembly, and the municipality of Paris! No one durst resist the fury of the populace, for fear of encreasing the number of victims. These horrors filled the heart of the King and Queen with the most poignant grief; but the hands of the King were tied. Some deputies, in presenting him to the people, as if to supplicate a pardon for him, had pledged themselves on his behalf that force should not again be had recourse to: an imprudent phrase, the consequences of which were most severely felt.

It was impossible to conceive how the French nation, so remarkable for their affectionate at-

tachments and tender feelings, should suddenly transform themselves into a horde of executioners. A philosophical writer accounts for it by the following reasons which appear to me unanswerable: "The extreme population of a state is one of the "causes of the subversion of authority, as well as "of revolutions and their attendant crimes. Every "thing prospers amongst a people, agreeably to "the wishes of those who govern, when their "labour is in demand: but when that is not the "case, by the work not bearing an equal proportion to the number of hands, a great many idle "men, or in other words, a great many dangerous ones, remain unemployed. It will then "be necessary to have recourse to emigrations, "and to found colonies, or give to them a strong "government to keep them in subjection: but "if, unfortunately, instead of giving them such "a government, the Prince assembles them in "order that they may chuse their own, the idle "and the turbulent will preponderate, and anarchy ensues."

M. Necker returned to Versailles, amidst this general combustion. In the progress of his journey, he saw the noble mansions of Burgundy and Franche-Comté in flames, and devastations of every kind which were committing with impunity,

to the scandal of the French nation. There no longer existed any government throughout the kingdom; not a vestige of it remained. It being observed one day to the King that the National Assembly possessed all the real power, and only left him the empty shadow of it. he answered: "Bet-" ter, far better, that the favour and influence of " the National Assembly should increase at my " expense, if it be instrumental to the happiness " of the people." This desire of promoting the happiness of the people, was always much nearer to his heart than the preservation of his own authority, which, however, was the only guarantee of that happiness! The National Assembly, unable to oppose a barrier to the popular fury, thought that the presence of M. Necker in Paris, would operate like a magic charm and prove an immediate remedy for every evil. The wits of the capital, true to their national character, did not lose the opportunity of a jest, amidst the most horrible scenes; they said that the Court and the National Assembly wished to oppose this minister to the fury of the people, as in certain countries relics were still exposed, to stop the progress of inundations and the ravages of fire.

The return of this minister to Paris resembled a triumphal entry. It was a parody of that which

the King had made, a few days before, in that capital. It was remarked that that Monarch had only heard the cries of *long live the nation!* at the Hôtel de Ville; and that the minister heard only those of *long live M. Necker!* that only *a cockade* had been offered to the Monarch, and that a *statue* had been decreed to his minister! Nothing could exceed the vanity of M. Necker, in beholding the frenzy of joy which his presence occasioned amongst the people. He then thought himself the supreme legislator, and governor for life, of that unfortunate France which he had charitably adopted for his country, on condition that he should govern it at his pleasure. He was not long in perceiving how fatal is the error in wishing to govern States, in times of difficulty and misfortunes, and that the influence of the most revered personages, at such times, is likely to vanish.

An administration, composed of the most popular elements it was possible to unite, had been formed. M. Montmorin had been reinstated in the department of foreign affairs, and M. de la Luzerne in that of the marine. M. Necker resumed the direction of the finances, and of the Council. The department of the interior, then called the ministry of Paris, he caused to be given

to his friend, M. de St. Priest. Two members of the National Assembly, who enjoyed a high reputation as administrators, were chosen to complete the formation of the Council. M. Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was appointed Garde des Sceaux, and the Count de la Tour-du-Pin, secretary at war. Unfortunately for M. Necker, in this homage rendered to the National Assembly, he forgot, or disdained to include Mirabeau, whose supreme ambition it was to be a member of the administration, *per fas et nefas;* and the rivalship and hatred which Mirabeau bore against him until his death, began, at this period, to break out.

In his journey from Basle to Paris, M. Necker met with a seditious mob who were carrying off his countryman the Baron de Besenval, to hang him at a lantern-post of the capital. He prevailed upon them to consent to that officer being lodged in the prison of Brie-Comte-Robert, until the municipality of Paris, and the National Assembly, should determine on his fate: and this delay saved the unfortunate general.

M. Necker, intoxicated with joy, by the applauses and blessings which had accompanied him to the Hôtel de Ville, proposed to the club

of the electors that whatever had passed *should be buried in oblivion*, that all prosecutions relating to the revolution should be discontinued, and strongly solicited the enlargement of the Baron de Besenval. The electors, in the enthusiasm which the presence of their idol had inspired, readily acceded to all he required of them, and they signed, and immediately dispatched an order to release him, with permission to go to Switzerland, his native country, without molestation.

No sooner was this order known, than the sixty districts which composed the sovereign people of Paris, revolted against their representatives, and unanimously disapproved of their conduct on that occasion. Mirabeau did not conceal his manœuvres; he hastened to Paris from Versailles, and flew from district to district, haranguing the multitude, and did not cease to agitate Paris, until he went to the National Assembly and made them decree that the Baron de Besenval should remain in prison, until a competent tribunal should pronounce judgment upon him; as the electors being only a club, and the power of the municipal authorities being confined to the jurisdiction of the city, they did not possess the right of pardon; and that there existed a decree of the 13th of

July, which rendered the ministers and their agents responsible for every event resulting from the contentions which had arisen between them and the nation. The lesson Mirabeau had given to the electors, was rather addressed to M. Necker than to them, and it produced its full effect. The minister appeared thunderstruck; all his power vanished; his influence was annihilated; and he seemed to have no better alternative than to withdraw himself to Versailles, amidst the wrecks of the throne, from whence to observe the convulsions of Paris and the manœuvres of the National Assembly.

The situation of that Assembly was at this period most brilliant: all power was in their hands: Sovereign Courts had laid at their feet the tribute of their homage and respect: congratulations and adhesions arrived to them from every part of France: but they had at their doors that turbulent capital of which they had availed themselves to subvert the throne. They had changed a just and benignant sovereign for a savage and ferocious despot, ever more inclined to use his force than his rights.

In order to please this people of kings, whose turbulence gave them no small uneasiness, they

announced, that before they commenced their deliberations on the formation of a constitution, they intended to proclaim a declaration of the rights of man: which caused it to be remarked that instead of giving an useful book, they were going to amuse themselves by making a dangerous preface.

As this declaration only contained metaphysical propositions, which the people were tired of hearing discussed during the last fortnight, the National Assembly, eager to signalize their zeal, rose *en masse* in the sitting of the evening of the 4th of August. The minds of all the members took fire, on an unexpected motion of the Viscount of Noailles, a young officer, ambitious to make himself conspicuous, and to acquire a popularity equal to that of the Marquis de la Fayette, his brother-in-law. He rose suddenly, and grounding his opinion on the existing troubles which could only be appeased by sacrifices, he proposed the abolition of personal feudal rights, and the redemption of all feudal rights attaching to lands. The proposition electrified the Assembly. The general enthusiasm of the moment supplied the want of examination and discussion. Each strove to invent a new destruction. Nobles,*

* Eight dukes were amongst the number of those who

bishops, archbishops, rectors, all vied in making a sacrifice of the property of others on the altar of the country.

The National Assembly, in this ever memorable night, abolished without indemnity, all personal rights; declared all real rights redeemable; abolished manorial courts, the game laws, the purchase of offices, the perquisites of rectors, all exemptions from taxes, and the privileges of provinces and cities. They enacted the redemption of all rents and services, the admission to every employment without distinction of birth; they proscribed the plurality of livings, and demanded an account of the pension list, which was in future to be paid from the civil list, they should grant to the King; they abolished by one act the annats and the tythes; and brought to their aid the arts, the King, and the divinity, in order that nothing might be wanting to consecrate those grand operations, and prevent before hand all opposition. They decreed that a medal should be struck in commemoration of so many grand deliberations; that every body should rejoice at so many sacrifices made for the happiness

proposed the different sacrifices of this night: the Dukes of Orleans, Châtelet, Mortemar, Villequier, d'Aumont, Castries, Liancourt, and Rochefoucault

of the people: that Louis XVI. should assume the appellation of *Restorer of Liberty*, and that a *Te Deum* should be sung on the occasion in the Metropolitan Church.

By this means, the King and his counsellors were interdicted from making any observations which calm reflection might have suggested, on the consequences of this new species of nocturnal debauch. Wise men were alarmed in contemplating these convulsive movements which so strongly agitated a whole assembly, and made them dispose, without deliberation or bounds, of the property of others. The passing of these decrees, the principle of which had been so tumultuously approved, did not, however, take place without warm debates. But as the people, in services rendered to them, neither permit prudence, nor pardon repentance, they passed from necessity; whatever might have been the regrets even of those who had been the first to heat and to mislead the minds of the Assembly.

The article which experienced the most opposition, was the abolition of tythes. The Abbé Siéyès who, in his first works, had sought with so much ardour to overthrow the basis of all property, endeavoured to cause that of the clergy to

be respected, when he saw that the consequence of the principles he had brought forward would ruin his fortune in less than six months after their publication. He exclaimed to the demagogues from the tribune, in a tone of rage: *You wish to be free, but you do not know how to be just!* But his opposition was vain: he lost both his cause and his popularity. They opposed him to himself; they proved to him that he reasoned badly either in his books, or in the Assembly. They accused him of deceiving two parties at the same time; the clergy, who at first only saw in him a philosopher, in the habit of a priest, and the Palais Royal, who now only viewed him as a priest, with a philosopher's cloak.*

"Thus," observed a cotemporary writer, "were

* Another philosopher of the sect of economists, the Abbé Morellet, one of the forty of the French Academy, corresponded, at this period, with one of the most distinguished members of the House of Lords in England. Until then he had been continually extolling the Revolution to his Lordship, as the triumph of reason over abuses, and of knowledge over ignorance. He entirely changed his language after the night of the 4th of August; the poor man was ruined, and he railed against the Assembly, in the tone of an unfortunate client who had just lost his cause unjustly. The English Marquis played off a very witty irony on the philosopher, in writing to console him: that *he was a soldier wounded in a victorious army:*

" tythes abolished, that patriarchal tribute, the
" most ancient and venerable in existence amongst
" men; thus was that link broken which con-
" nected the hopes of the earth with the bounty
" of heaven, the interest of the pontiff with the
" prosperity of the labourer, and canticles and
" prayers of all ages with the flowers and fruits
" of all seasons."

The revolution had put a stop to the collecting of almost every tax, and particularly that on articles of consumption entering Paris. At the minister's request that a loan of thirty millions should be opened for the Royal Treasury, M. Necker proposed to grant the lenders an interest of five per cent. The deputies, anxious to give a new proof of their zeal, would only allow an interest of four and a half. The capitalists were not of the opinion of the deputies. M. Necker received nothing; and a few days after, he was obliged to solicit the Assembly to sanction a new loan of eighty millions, payable half in money and half in discredited paper. The Assembly, fatigued with the lessons given to them by the minister and by the Parisians,* granted to M. Necker his de-

* A pamphlet published in the name of the creditors of the state came out at this period, the original title of which alrea-

mand, *of confidence.* But as confidence is impossible in a country where persons are killed with impunity, and property plundered, the second loan did not meet with better success than the first, and the coffers of the Royal Treasury continued empty, whilst they were finishing the declaration of the rights of man, and the promulgation of equality.

How indeed could the smallest loan have been negotiated, when the minister offered to the lenders no other security than French loyalty, represented by an Assembly whose operations were all stamped with disloyalty? Besides, all the monied men, struck or threatened, and on the eve of dispersing, had withdrawn their funds from circulation. Considerable sums were carried out of France, as well by emigration, as from the necessity of procuring the means of subsistence from foreign countries. Amidst the general anxiety, credit was at an end, and the greatest part of the taxes were not paid; the daily transactions between individuals were suspended; every one was deprived of a part of his income; justice

dy shewed that the Assembly did not enjoy a universal respect. This writing was entitled: "Sauvez nous, ou sauvez vous." The object of the pamphlet was to induce the deputies to an implicit reliance in M. Necker, in whatever concerned the finances.

was no where administered, and crimes committed with impunity where every where to be seen: it was absurd to imagine that capitalists would lend their money to a government which had not even sufficient force to make private engagements respected.

The quarrel between the Ministry and the National Assembly commenced at this period.—Each of these two powers sought to accuse the other as the cause of the public misfortunes, and to render it responsible for them. The Garde des Sceaux appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and drew a faithful but dismal picture of the situation of the kingdom. "Terror and alarms," said he, "are "sent wherever depredators cannot be sent; "licentiousness is without bounds, the laws "without force, and the tribunals without au- "thority; desolation has spread itself over a part "of France, and terror over all." M. Necker, irritated by the bad success of his loans, brought his *ultimatum* to the National Asssmbly. He deplored the frightful state into which the precipitations and the delays of the National Assembly had plunged all the kingdom; precipitations of enthusiasm and fear, when they wanted to attack the royal authority, and exterminate the government every where; delays, and long deliberations

when it was necessary to re-establish order with promptitude.

He concluded his speech by proposing various economies and reforms in the King's household, in that of the Queen and Princes, in salaries, and in pensions; an equal distribution of taxes on land; the erecting the Caisse d'Escompte into a national bank, in order to have a paper currency; and, finally, a voluntary contribution of one fourth of incomes, and a recommendation to send all plate and jewels to the mint. He accompanied these propositions with a gift of one hundred thousand livres, in notes of the Caisse d'Escompte, which he deposited on the table of the president, declaring that it exceeded the fourth of his income.

Their Majesties had already set the example of sacrifices, by sending their plate to the mint.— "The King," said Barrère at that time, in his paper the *Point du Jour*, "disdaining an os- "tentation unnecessary to his grandeur, has sent "to the mint all his plate and that of the Queen. "The same trait honoured the life of Louis "XIV. with this difference, that it was to "defray the expences of a war which desolated "Europe. But Louis XVI. makes use of

" it to establish the basis of liberty, which is to " regenerate his people!"

The assembly shared in the sensibility of Barrere, and thought it incumbent upon them to request His Majesty to relinquish his design. Mirabeau only viewed the affair with the eye of a statesman, and thus expressed himself: " I do not easily " concern myself for the porcelaine of the great, " or for the plate of kings: I coincide, however, " in the conclusion of those who have spoken " before me, but from a different motive; it is " because, there will not be a plate of silver sent " to the mint, but will immediately after be in " circulation in London."

The National Assembly sent a deputation to His Majesty, to entreat him to retain his plate.— But the King answered that neither the Queen nor himself set any value on the sacrifice, and that they persisted in doing it. This answer was received with the warmest applauses. " When " justice and probity are on the throne," wrote Barrère on that occasion, " every virtue reigns " with them."

However, this tax of a fourth of incomes, which was to make up the deficit of the year, only

yielded ninety millions in the space of three years. In vain did the wives of artists bring their jewels to a kind of *Lombard*, which had been opened at the door of the assembly; in vain did the deputies patriotically taking their buckles from their shoes, recommend a gift to be made to the nation of all the silver shoe buckles; neither plate, nor jewels ever amounted to more than four millions of livres. The place which I held in the treasury allowed me to ascertain the result of that contribution, it never exceeded the sums I have just mentioned. The other propositions of M. Necker had been sent to a committee of finance, and approved, but they were never carried into execution. Mirabeau, on this occasion, loaded his rival with that sardonic contempt of which no one was capable of making a more cruel use than himself.

The month of September was passed in discussing the plan of the constitution, presented by the committee who had been ordered to draw it up. I will not dwell on the vices and advantages of the plan drawn up by them, as such an examination would be foreign to the object I have in view.

Never were the revolutionary movements more

active than in the two months of August and September, during the discussion of the Constitution, and of the rights of man. Mirabeau was the soul of these movements. To him it was that the anarchists then attached themselves, and who afterwards formed the two grand and celebrated sub-divisions of Jacobins and Cordeliers, the genuine republicans, and such persons as were of the household of the Duke of Orleans, composing what were called the Orleans party. The committee of constitution was composed of members entirely devoted to M. Necker. They wished to compromise with their duty, by introducing principles in their plan which would destroy the basis of the ancient monarchy, and to fix their new government on foundations nearly similar to those of the United States of America. Not daring, however, to propose the continuation of the three orders, as before, they substituted the plan of the two chambers, who were to be invested with the legislative power: yet, anxious to preserve their popularity, they were unwilling to deviate, more than could be avoided, from the system of equality which was already recorded in the declaration of the rights of man. Instead of proposing to the assembly the formation of an hereditary chamber of peers, similar to that of England, they were satisfied with pro-

posing a senate, the members of which, appointed for life, were only to be chosen from the great landholders of the kingdom. The clergy and the nobility saw in this plan the immediate destruction of their existence, and the partisans of absolute equality discovered in it the first attempt to oppose their chimerical principles. Those who wished that a new constitution should be made, and that this constitution should be their own work, were fearful, as soon as it should pass into a law, that the constituent assembly would immediately divide into two chambers, one of which would possess the right of a veto over the other, and that the enactment of the other laws would become an endless task. A great majority voted against the projet, and even the principle of the division of the legislative power, and adopted that of its unity, a principle which any of the existing members of that pretended constituent assembly, would at present be ashamed to avow. The friends of the monarchy and of the reigning family, saw that, whenever the inferior hereditary ranks were abolished, the throne of the Bourbons, shaken at its very basis, would sooner or later inevitably fall: that an hereditary prerogative, granted to a single family, for the most exalted office, if nothing analagous to it were to be found in the state, would be the means of erecting an

immense abyss between the nation and the Prince; and, that the Prince placed in the centre of that abyss, deprived of the hereditary hierarchy by which he had always been upheld, would infallibly perish in it. The consequences of the principle of equality which had been proclaimed in the declaration of the rights of man were already much dreaded: but good men bewail in silence, and raise no cabals. A part of the nobility and high clergy, indignant at seeing the committee of the constitution (which was supposed to act in concert with the King's council, as one of the members was Garde des Sceaux, another Secretary of War, and all the others had constantly supported M. Necker) bring forward a proposition which suddenly deprived them of their past, present, and future political existence, and sunk them beneath the level of a fortunate stock-jobber, and even of their own footmen, who might have chanced to become rival land-holders, opposed the measure. In those memorable sittings, I heard several members vote for a single chamber, openly declaring that as a revolution was desired, it ought to be complete. The Marquis de la Fayette so fully expected the success of the plan of a senate for life, and which he was anxious to see adopted, that he offered to wager with an English nobleman, that in less than two years the

British House of Peers would be no longer in existence, and that all the aristocratic institutions would disappear from the British constitution, and be replaced by two chambers, similar to those which formed the legislative body of the United States of America, with whose constitution all the young members of the Assembly were strongly infatuated. The committee of the constitution, and even the ministry, were obliged more or less, to yield to the views of a young general and a staff decorated with the order of Cincinnatus, and disposing of thirty thousand armed burghers.

The galleries found even the propositions of the committee of the constitution too aristocratic: and those who extolled the constitution of the United States, that of England, and the ancient constitution of France; those who wished for a senate for life, an hereditary peerage, or the three orders, were all equally attacked by cries, hisses, and abuse, accompanied with threats of summary vengeance.

'To this important discussion was soon added that of the sanction which the King might give or refuse to the laws.' The sanction, as proposed, was denominated the *veto*, and it was debated

whether this veto should be absolute, or only suspensive during two legislatures. On this single question, the assembly of the groupes of the Palais Royal became outrageous. A rustic, named the Marquis of Saint-Huruge, a man without abilities or courage, and whose only talent was a Stentorian voice, of mean figure, and vulgar audacious countenance, marched one day for Versailles at the head of a considerable furious mob, armed with sticks, who boldly avowed their intention of going to assassinate the priests and the friends of the two chambers. This factious horde was dispersed by the military at some distance from Paris.

The members of the committee of the constitution daily received anonymous letters threatening them with the vengeance of the people, and plainly informing them that fifteen thousand men were ready to march to *enlighten* their châteaux and their houses, if they persisted in proposing to give to the King a *veto* derogatory to the sovereignty of the people, which might indeed belong to twenty-five millions of men, but never to a single individual.

If any of those factious men had been asked to define that *veto* which disquieted them so much,

they would not have been able to do it. But so much pains had been taken to persuade them, that it was an invention of the aristocrats, that nothing more was necessary to excite an insurrection against the *veto;* and as physical objects are more within the reach of the common people than abstract ideas, they immediately personified this *veto;* and Louis XVI. and Maria-Antoinetta were called Monsieur and Madame Veto.

These popular movements so alarmed the ministry, that notwithstanding the proposition of the committee of the constitution to grant to the Monarch an absolute veto, notwithstanding the assent of a great part of the Assembly, and notwithstanding the Count de Mirabeau himself had said that he would rather live at Constantinople than at Paris, if the King had not the absolute right to reject such laws as he should consider either bad or impracticable, the Council adopted a report made by M. Necker, making the King declare that he would be satisfied with a suspensive *veto.* This report was to have been read to the National Assembly the day after that on which it had been read in the Council. M. Mounier, a member of the committee of the constitution, was informed of it, and regardless of the friendship subsisting between M. Necker and himself,

he prevented, by his exertions, the reading of the report. M. Necker, who attached no small importance to some ambitious phrases with which he had interspersed it, revenged himself of the service which M. Mounier had rendered him, by causing the report to be printed the very next day. From that moment he lost the weight he still possessed amongst a small number of friends; he never regained his former reputation, and his influence was extinguished.

I cannot better describe his situation at that period, than by presenting the picture of it such as it was drawn in one of the ephemeral papers of the time.

" In the progress of all those events, and on all
" occasions, M. Necker was the dupe of a num-
" ber of demagogues who had come to overthrow
" a monarchy, and not to elevate a minister.—
" His influence which, on his triumphal return
" to Paris seemed suddenly to have revived, soon
" declined from the exertions of the districts, and
" was eclipsed by the éclat of the National As-
" sembly. Hence that disgust, peevishness, and
" despondency which were afterwards discerna-
" ble in all his speeches and in all his actions.
" The last effort he made was, at the same time,

" *for* and *against* the royal sanction; and when " he was no longer able or willing to be " the first minister of a fallen King, he was " still disposed to be the *necessary instrument* " *of the first nation in the world; under the* " *auspices of the most august assembly in the* " *universe.*"

Meanwhile the suspensive *veto* had been decreed; a measure which neither allayed the agitation of Paris, nor added to the tranquillity of Versailles. The thirty factious members who sat in groupes on the high benches of the Assembly, on the left of the President, and were sometimes called the Mountain, and sometimes the Palais Royal, either on account of their being the organs of the motions which were daily made in that Palace, or because the Duke of Orleans usually sat amongst them with his little party of trusty adherents, pretended to take alarm at the application that might be made of this *veto* to the articles of the constitution already decreed, and to those which still remained to be proposed. They knew that the King's Council, in conjunction with the committee of the constitution, were drawing up a temperate memorial in which they discussed the principles and the consequences of the famous decrees of the 4th of August, the declaration of

rights, and several other points. The King was desirous of instigating his council and a commission of the Assembly to come to an amicable explanation, in order to revise, modify, and harmonise the many incoherent decrees, the danger of which was acknowledged even by those with whom they had originated, and who confessed that they had gone too far. His Majesty seemed to wish to appeal from the Assembly in delirium to the Assembly calmed by reflection.

This memorial was read to the National Assembly, of which the following was a part of the preamble:—

" Several articles of those decrees," said the memorial, " are only the text of the laws to which " it is incumbent upon the Assembly to devote " their attention. I am anxious to learn what " consequences you wish to infer from them. " Thus, while I approve the general spirit of your " determinations, there are, however, several " articles to which I could only give a conditional " adhesion. It is my intention to make you ac- " quainted with the result of my reflections, and " with those of my Council. I will modify my " opinions, and even renounce them without

" reluctance, if I shall hereafter judge it to be
" necessary; and it will at all times be a subject
" of regret to me whenever the sentiments of the
" Assembly shall not coincide with my own."

The wisdom of this preamble, and the paternal and moderate expressions which it contained, ought to have prepossessed the minds of the Assembly in favor of the examination arising from the suppressions made on that famous night. The King, in this examination, combated the suppression of the tithes on the same grounds that the Abbé Siéyès had already done. He observed that so great a sacrifice was only useful to the landholders; a gratuitous gift, from which the merchants, manufacturers, the other subjects of the State, and even the State itself, would derive no advantage. As to the suppression of the duties collected in France by the court of Rome, he maintained, that being founded on the concordate between France and the Holy See, one of the contracting parties could not abolish them, and intimated his intention of entering into a negotiation with His Holiness on the subject.

The wisdom of these principles, and the beneficence and circumspection of the King, were so

many motives to enrage those who were endeavouring to ensnare him. But two observations relative to the tithes and the duties collected in France by the Holy See, irritated, more than all the others, the demagogues of the Assembly. The suppression of the tithes was only a preliminary measure to the general confiscation of the estates of the clergy; and it is easy to imagine what share of so vast a spoil these new Saracens had already anticipated for themselves. The abolition of the subsidies paid to the Court of Rome, with these impious atheists, was only the first step towards a rupture of every political and religious connexion with the Court of Rome and the See of St. Peter, and the consequent dissolution of all religious ties, which the philosophers at length saw was near at hand. Chapelier and Mirabeau, the two most violent speakers of the party who were endeavouring to pull down the whole of the fabric in order to rebuild it at their pleasure, made the most insolent speeches on the pretended resistance which the Court had it in contemplation to oppose to the operations of the Assembly. They threatened a fresh explosion, if the King did not unconditionally promulgate the decrees of the 4th of August; adding, that as they were constitutional decrees, they were not submitted to his *sanction*, and that he was bound to give them his

immediate *assent*. By means of this distinction between sanctioning and assenting to what was constitutional, they deprived the King even of the *suspensive veto* which, in their goodness, they had just accorded to him.

These debates were carried on every day with increased animosity. At this conjuncture, M. de Volney, a deputy who in the province of Britanny had formerly been but too successfully employed by the ministers and their agents to excite the middling ranks of the inhabitants and the populace against the nobility and the clergy, made a proposition, wise in its principle, but which, in the execution, would have encountered numberless difficulties. He required that they should immediately lay the fundamental basis of the constitution, and afterwards relinquish their seats to other deputies, who, by not having the same motives for opposing each other, would be better enabled to promote the public good. This motion was at first received with enthusiasm. It was made about the 20th of September, and from this circumstance, it was styled in the pamphlets of the day, *the Coup d'Equinoxe*, which was to purify the atmosphere and brighten the political horizon: but the debate having been adjourned until the next day, it met with considerable op-

position. Most of the factious members, and even those of the *côté droit*, equally considered their nomination to the States-General, which had drawn them from obscurity, as the means of satisfying their different views of ambition. The former expected an immense fortune in the grand pillage they were preparing, *fixit leges pretio atque refixit;* the latter flattered themselves with acquiring a greater preponderance in the state and the favours of the Court, if the monarchy were to triumph in the contest, *si Pergama dextrâ defendi possent.* Thus, *per fas et nefas,* all were interested in remaining as they were. The Viscount de Mirabeau having proposed, in addition to the motion of M. de Volney, that none of the present members should be eligible to the new Assembly, his proposition was rejected under the pretext of the public good, the danger of the state, the situation of the finances, and the oath they had taken not to separate until they had completed the constitution.

In the mean time, the penury of the public treasury gave rise every day to new embarrassments. After the night of the 4th of August, every other tax shared the fate of the feudal rights which had been suppressed. The châteaux in the country were demolished as promptly as had been the bar-

riers of Paris; and the vingtièmes as well as the tithes were no longer paid. Whenever M. Necker came to ask the Assembly for supplies, they confidently granted him, with a kind of derision, every thing he required of them; but they left it to him to operate miracles, if he could, with his friends the bankers, the capitalists, the annuitants, and the stockjobbers of the Palais Royal. M. Necker did not always disguise the umbrage he felt at the indifference with which he was treated by the Assembly. It gave rise to pamphlets in which the latter were told that they ought to abandon themselves entirely to the direction of the minister. Thus, while he was formally soliciting the protectorship or a kind of dictature in his favour, the Assembly were plainly calling upon these dispensers of the public fortune either to save France, or to retire. But neither did these menaces, nor the ready compliance of the Assembly with all M. Necker's financial propositions, produce a single shilling; and the subsistence of the capital, as well as the dividends of the capitalists, were every instant likely to fail. The corn-market of Paris was frequently unprovided with a complete day's supply, and, at Chartres and Vernon, battles were fought for a few loads of wheat, which the electoral club had caused to be bought for conveyance to the capital.

It was then that M. Necker must have severely felt the fault, I may even say the crime, he had committed, in wishing to prop himself with the strength of the people against the monarch, particularly in a state constituted like the French Monarchy, and amongst a people so impetuous and inconstant as the French. M. Necker, who judged of the state of the public mind from the public credit (no uncommon error now in Europe) had entirely neglected the great and the lower orders of the people. Anxious to acquire his popularity amongst the burghers, the shopkeepers, men of letters, and the middling ranks of the nation, he wished to do every thing for them; and these were grateful to enthusiasm, until the period that his fidelity became as irksome to the factious part of the community as it always had been to the Court. Vain were his expectations of being listened to by all parties in the crisis which he had created—all those passions of which he had hoped to avail himself, now burst forth against him.

The situation of M. Necker, from the day of the failure of his first plan for a loan until the famous day of the 5th of October, was so well described in one of the pamphlets of the times, that I cannot refrain from transcribing it.

" M. Necker formed the design of drawing " from the King the demand of a *suspensive veto*, " and availed himself of the fermentation of the " public mind and the threats of the Palais Royal, " to intimidate the Council. He communicated " his prudence and his terrors to so many depu- " ties that he might at any time have secured a " majority in the National Assembly. At length, " in order to take a more unequivocal part in this " decision, he sent his report, which was entirely " in favour of the *suspensive veto;* bent upon " making so great a present to the Assembly and " to the nation, and unwilling to die without " having been in France, a republican or national " minister.

" M. Mounier, the President of the Assembly, " acted with a finesse and adroitness to which " honest minds are not often obliged to have re- " course. Confident that the report sent by M. " Necker was favourable to the *suspensive veto*, " he feigned a contrary belief; and as it is not " likely that a minister should endeavour to de- " grade his master, M. Mounier skilfully availed " himself of the probability against the truth. It " was accordingly decided, that the letter of the " minister, whether favourable or not to the royal " prerogative, should not be opened; and it is

" to M. Mounier that M. Necker is indebted,
" either for the happiness of not having been con-
" cerned in the culpable decision of the Assembly,
" or for the misfortune of being regarded as a
" cypher in the constitution.

" Such was the last political essay of this mi-
" nister upon the National Assembly. Subsequent-
" ly to this period, he has never appeared upon
" the scene, but to obtain decrees in favour of
" his loans. Pressed between the wants of the
" state which were incessantly arising, and the
" desperate and wicked intentions of the dema-
" gogues, whenever this minister has appeared
" at the Assembly, he has never been able to
" speak but of money, and has never had the
" courage to ask for enough: so that he has al-
" ways had the misfortune to be inefficient in a
" system of itself inefficient.

" In taking a collective survey of all the dif-
" ferent traits of M. Necker, one cannot but re-
" gret that he should have been so little acquaint-
" ed with his own powers, or that he should have
" put them to so bad a use. What a moment
" was his return to France, not for himself alone,
" but for the monarchy! Returned from his ex-
" ile, he might have overawed the National As-

" sembly who could not do without him, in
" order to keep the kingdom in subjection; he
" might have forced them to fulfil the instructions
" of their constituents, and if they had resisted, he
" might have denounced them to the nation with
" a certainty of success. In all this M. Necker
" might have succeeded; and assuredly it would
" have been no small portion of glory. The King
" would now have been indebted to him for a
" throne, France for a constitution, the capita-
" lists for a solid guarantee, and the National
" Assembly themselves would have owed him
" their gratitude for having saved them from pre-
" varication. But, too intent on his project, in-
" stead of raising up the royal authority, he de-
" lighted in triumphing over it, by making a
" pompous entry in Paris, accompanied by his
" lady and daughter; a weakness which has
" only been pardoned in them. He will always
" be reproached with having made a wrong
" use of the pretext afforded by the imprison-
" ment of M. de Besenval, whose release he
" humbly implored of a Hôtel de Ville; thereby
" acknowledging, as a man of the people, a sub-
" altern and upstart power; and forgetting, as a
" minister of the King, the ancient majesty of his
" masters, in whose name, perhaps, he alone in
" all the kingdom, could speak with dignity and

" firmness. The flattery and incense of the
" people made him believe that he could neglect
" and abase the sceptre of kings. He has ad-
" dressed the same speech to the Hôtel de Ville
" and to the National Assembly; thus confound-
" ing two powers so essentially different, and
" lavishing upon them the same servile adulation.
" But the affront which he received from the
" districts, in the middle of his triumph, made
" him feel with the most bitter regret, that he
" had, by that ill-judged measure, only increas-
" ed the influence of the National Assembly over
" the people, the stupid admiration of the pro-
" vinces towards Paris, and the universal irreve-
" rence towards the throne, to the foot of which
" he himself remained attached without power
" or eclat."

In this state of fermentation and apprehension, each party sought to ensure the victory. The members of the Committee of the Constitution, M. Necker, M. Malouet, and all who afterwards formed what was called the party of the moderates, were desirous that the King and the National Assembly should remove to Tours, in order to be freed from the danger of the disastrous influence to which the vicinity of Paris exposed them; the revolutionary party on their side form-

ed the design, amidst the popular agitation, of removing the National Assembly to Paris. The King, who did not consider the moderate party as the true friends of the royal authority, objected to the proposal of removing, made to him by M. Necker and M. de Montmorin. He contented himself with causing it to be signified to those pretended friends, that measures should be taken to secure the Royal Family and the National Assembly from any attacks that might be meditated against them. Those measures consisted in bringing a regiment of the line to Versailles. In order to excite less suspicion, the regiment of Flanders, was chosen, the Colonel of which, M. de Lusignan, ought not to have given any cause of apprehension, as he rather inclined to the prevailing party in the Assembly. Precaution was taken to make the municipality of Versailles solicit themselves this auxiliary force. The National Guards of this city, obliged to guard all the posts of the palace formerly occupied by the four companies on duty of the French Guards, to furnish sentinels for the doors of the Assembly and the numerous posts of Versailles, to purchase, contend for, and escort with fixed bayonets the provisioning of the city, were exhausted with fatigue, and required to be relieved by a regiment of the line.

The arrival of the regiment of Flanders was viewed with a jealous eye by the central companies of the districts of Paris, who, as I have already said, were composed of the old French Guards. They found themselves humiliated in seeing faithful soldiers come to replace them at that palace which they thought themselves honoured by guarding before they had become citizens of Paris. This regiment, however, on its entering Versailles, had taken the oath, before the municipality, to be faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King; and as if that engagement were not sufficient, it had been agreed that that corps should be under the orders of the Commandant of the National Guard of Versailles.

This Commandant was the Comte d'Estaing, celebrated for his intrepidity, and diversity of good and ill success in the war with England. It was said, at the time, that the Marquis de la Fayette saw with regret the Guard of the King confided to his old companion in arms, and that he was not sorry for the opportunity which offered to deprive him of that honourable trust. Proofs of this opinion are deduced from the facility with which he stopped the first eruption of the populace of Paris, which St. Huruge directed against Ver-

sailles, in the beginning of September, and from the little persuasion that was necessary to carry him to Versailles on the 5th of October.

It was an immemorial custom in the French Army, when a regiment arrived in a town where there were other troops, for the officers of the different corps to give each other invitations. The Body Guards of the King, accustomed to offer entertainments to crowned heads, and who, a few years before, had given one to the Queen of the most splendid description, could not avoid receiving the officers of the regiment of Flanders in a manner suitable to military etiquette, and worthy of their hospitality. The latter had already given the first entertainment in the grande écurie where they were quartered. When it was proposed to return it, the King allowed his Guards to dispose of the noble theatre in the palace, which yielded nothing in grandeur and magnificence to any theatre in Europe. The number of the guests required an accommodation equally spacious. The entertainment was given on the 23d of September, and the health of the King and Queen having been drank, it was accompanied with the warmest demonstrations of loyalty and enthusiasm.

The King having been informed of the ardour which animated this meeting of loyal cavaliers, and of the oath they had just renewed, to defend until their latest breath, masters who had hitherto been the objects of the love and veneration of their people, Their Majesties and their children, accompanied by a small number of attendants, came to honour and grace this assembly with their presence. They were invited by the Count de Tessé, an Equerry of the Queen, and the Count d'Agoult, Major of the Body Guards, who, struck with the brilliancy of the theatre, the number of the guests, the effect of the table set out in the shape of a horse shoe, the profusion of lights, and the concourse of spectators dispersed in the boxes, rightly judged that such a spectacle could not but interest the Royal Family. They arrived at first in the lower row of boxes facing the theatre. The musicians played, accompanied with bursts of applause, the popular air; *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?* This air was followed by reiterated acclamations of *Long live the King! Long live the Queen! Long live the Royal Family!* The august family were soon requested to descend and walk round the stage. Maria-Antoinetta, imitating her august mother, from an irresistible impulse, took the Dauphin by the hand and walked round the tables with him, proud to

shew to the gallant defenders of the throne the beautiful child who was the presumptive heir to it. On beholding so much majesty and grace, so much beauty and innocence, all were enraptured with admiration; tears of sensibility started from every eye; and the music immediately struck up the affecting air of Richard Cœur de Lion;

O Richard, ô mon Roi!
L'univers t'abandonne!

This air, which made so striking an allusion to the situation of Louis the XVIth, and which has been so long proscribed in France, was sung in chorus by all present. Never was there a more loyal concert. Never was an assembly so generally electrified by a sentiment more pure. The countenances of the King and Queen, on that evening, were marked with the most perfect happiness and content, which had succeeded that melancholy they had exhibited for several months.

I was present at this entertainment, and, as an eye-witness, I can assert that the bounds of decent mirth and the most scrupulous decorum were not transgressed in the slightest degree. The story of the soldier, who was said to be so affected by the spectacle before him, that he plunged his

sabre in his body, to punish himself for the crimes he had committed against the authority of the King, and who was said, while living, to have been rescued from his own fury by two of the body guards, and carried off by his comrades, who dispatched him, in order to prevent him from divulging, as he seemed inclined to do, the projects of the Orleans party, is an absolute falsehood, and solely invented by the Jacobins. Besides, this act of folly on one side, and of cruelty on the other, is highly improbable. Conspirators never admit soldiers to a participation of their mysteries. But it signified little at that time to the faction whether their reports were preposterous; their object was to stir up the populace, who are more readily exasperated by absurd exaggerations than reasonable truths.

Some soldiers of the regiment of Flanders happening to be in the courts when the banquet room was resounding with acclamations, endeavoured to get into the balcony of the palace, by climbing up the columns. Whether, in doing this, they intended to shew the interest they took in the general joy, or merely to divert themselves by shewing their agility, this amusement was by no means reprehensible, and was the only irregularity which came to my knowledge.

In the evening, some ladies belonging to the court, made a few cockades with pieces of white paper, which they distributed in the apartments of the palace to some of the body guards and to the officers whom they met. This was an act of simple gaiety, perfectly consonant with the French character, and was only the expression of their great attachment to the King and his family. Ought a similar demonstration of joy in the royal palace to have been construed into a crime?

Amongst the numerous spectators of this entertainment, there were, as no place was exempt from them, some ardent republicans, who, in the delirium of a passion *so genuine* and *affecting*, went immediately and reported in the city and to the National Assembly, that they had been present at the entertainment of the body guards; that they had remarked the plots and conspiracies of the court against the city of Paris; that every day there were similar orgies; that the military had trodden under foot the national cockade, and substituted the black; that they had insulted the nation, and that the affront should be avenged.

These reports were principally spread by an inhabitant of Versailles, who possessed some influence in the city. This man, named Lecointre,

of a gloomy and melancholy disposition, was a linen-draper, and indebted to the court for the whole of his fortune. He was ambitious of becoming commandant of the National Guard of Versailles, and was appointed on the resignation of the Count d'Estaing. That miscreant was entirely devoted to the Orleans faction; during three months, he had been incessantly making the most incendiary motions against the King and the Royal Family; and from that period, for a continuance of many years, he was the most inveterate persecutor of all honest men.

This Lecointre supplied Gorsas, the journalist, a writer notoriously in the pay of the Orleanist party, with every anecdote which could enable him to represent the circumstances of that entertainment as an outrage on the sovereignty of the people. It was this Gorsas, who, in his paper of the 2d of October, first rendered public those reports, which had hitherto only been whispered by the echoes of the faction. He added, that a general fête was soon to be given, at which four thousand Chevaliers of St. Louis were to assemble, and that it was in contemplation to dissolve the National Assembly.

In the disposition of the public mind at Paris,

nothing was more easy than to excite an insurrection. The habitual state of the city was disorderly. The King, with the best intentions, did not possess more ability to remedy the evil than the National Assembly themselves; not more even than the commandant in chief of the National Guard to make himself obliged by them. The faction, who acted secretly, from the obstacles which their first enterprize, directed by Desmoulins and St. Huruge, had encountered, had seen that it was probable that the National Guard would arrest any other body of seditious rabble which their emissaries might send to Versailles; and they thought that in this instance no one would think of resisting women, with fire arms and bayonets: it was therefore with women that they resolved to open the scene.

Gorsas had excited the public indignation against the body guards, in his paper of Saturday. On Sunday the 4th of October, the people proceeded to acts of violence, in the public walks, against the officers of the army, and other individuals who were pointed out to them as aristocrats. Paris was extremely agitated, and symptoms of a most alarming insurrection manifested themselves in the evening. Monday, the 5th, early in the morning, women, resembling furies, were seen

running through the streets, crying that there was no bread at the bakers. Having been soon joined by a considerable number of men in the square of the Hôtel de Ville, their first operation was to endeavour to hang, at a lantern-post, a baker accused of selling bread deficient in weight, who was saved by M. de Gouvion, a major in the National Guards. These furious women afterwards forced their way into the Town Hall, threw about the papers of some of the officers, and threatened to set fire to it; but they were stopt in the execution of their project. They heaped the most atrocious abuse upon Messieurs Bailly, la Fayette, and the corporation; a circumstance which proves more strongly than all the arguments that can be adduced, that the authority, which then governed the city of Paris, was totally unconnected with the faction which directed these tumults.

In the midst of these outrages, the cry, *To Versailles!* was suddenly vociferated. At noon, the column of women set out in pursuit of the King. They stopt all the women they met upon the quays, bridges and the Champs Élysées obliging them to follow them, at least a part of the way. They even endeavoured to make the young men accompany them, pretending that they were women in disguise.

The alarm bell was ringing all over Paris, and the people were flocking to it from every quarter of the capital. The National Guard was virtually without a chief, as M. de la Fayette was occupied in the interior of the Town Hall, in writing to the ministers and to the National Assembly. The French guards demanded of their general to conduct them to Versailles, in order to avenge the nation of the contempt with which they had been informed that the national cockade had been treated. "The people are unhappy," said these soldiers; "the source of the evil is at Versailles: "we must go and seek the King, and bring him "to Paris.—If he is too weak to support the "crown, let him abdicate it; we will nominate "his son, and appoint a regency, and the public "cannot but be benefited by the measure." These were their own expressions, and frequently occur in the proceedings at the Châtelet, concerning the events of that day.

M. de la Fayette came down into the Place de Grève, mounted his horse, and endeavoured, in vain, to harangue them. The only answers which were made to his speeches were the repeated cries: *To Versailles!* On his observing that he could do nothing without an order from the corporation, he was empowered by them in

the following terms: " Considering the state of " things and the wishes of the people, and the " representation of the commandant in chief *that* " *it is impossible to withold our assent*, the Assembly " authorise the commandant in chief, and even or- " der him, to proceed to Versailles." They immediately commenced their march. The rain fell in torrents, the evening was obscure, and the sombre spectacle of thirty thousand men, led on by vengeance, was truly terrific. The column of the four hundred women, who had set off in the morning, with a hundred pikemen and two pieces of cannon, were then approaching Versailles.— Such were the measures of that fatal revolution.

The King was hunting that day in the environs of Meudon. As soon as the intelligence of the march of the women reached Versailles, the Queen ordered M. de St. Priest, the minister of the home department, to make the Monarch acquainted with the danger which himself and his family were exposed to. The Marquis de Cubières was the first who had the good fortune to meet His Majesty, and persuaded him to hasten his return and that of his suite, in order to be at Versailles before the arrival of these furies. After the King had returned to the Palace, several of the body guards, and other persons in his service, who had

been sent to seek for him in every direction, were in the grand avenue amidst those groups of brigands of both sexes, who fired at and grossly insulted them. Several of the balls aimed at them struck the walls of the hall of the National Assembly.

Before I make mention of the proceedings of that Assembly, I must relate what passed in the Palace, until the arrival of the National Guard of Paris.

The language, outrages, and firing of the first column of brigands, had given sufficient cause of alarm to the court, to order to arms the King's guard, the regiment of Flanders, and the National Guard of Versailles. The guard of the Court shut the iron gates; and the King's guards, stationed without, were ordered neither to draw their sabres nor to level their pistols, and to avoid whatever might irritate the people. The body guards obeyed this order with so much resignation, that with the smallest courage on the part of their enemies to attempt it, they might have been passively slaughtered one after the other. The only movement which took place was a slight resistance to an attempt made by the fish-women to break the line of the body guards, in order to pe-

netrate into the court of the ministers, and which the King's guards opposed. On this, one of the Parisian brigands endeavoured, with the sabre with which he was armed, to pierce a brigadier, but he had the good fortune, by wheeling round with great alacrity, to avoid the blow, which his horse received in the side. The Count de Savoniers, a lieutenant of the body guards, flew, sword in hand, to the assistance of his brigadier. At the same time a National Guard of Versailles, who, as I have since been informed, was the hair-dresser of the Hôtel des Gardes, defended the brigand, though he very well saw that he was the aggressor, and with a shot from his musket broke the arm of that loyal and respectable officer, who died a few days after of his wound.

The Prince of Luxemburg, a captain of the Life Guards, having inquired of His Majesty if he had any orders to give for repelling these violences committed by the dregs of the women; the King replied: "What; Sir! military orders "against women; surely you jest."

In the meanwhile, the fish-women and pike-men who had come from Paris, the National Guards and the people of Versailles, swore fraternity to each other, promised mutual succour, and afterwards

united against the Life Guards, whom they hissed and pelted with stones the remainder of the evening. These ill-fated men, who were ordered not to make any resistance, although they had been drawn up in order of battle, first before the palisades of the Palace, and afterwards on the terrace of the Orangery, were at last ordered to return to their quarters. As they were passing before the King's stables, a boy having fired a pistol in the air, the National Guards, at the guard-house of the armoury, immediately fired upon the King's Guards, pretending, that in their retreat, they had fired upon them: several of the King's Guards were wounded, the horse of M. Moncheton was killed, and he himself narrowly escaped from the fury of these wretches, who endeavoured to murder him; but having missed him, like beasts of prey, they seized upon his horse, roasted a part of it, and eat it.

Towards six in the evening, certain intelligence reached the Palace that the army of Paris was on its march; that it had great projects, and that nobody knew the fate which awaited Versailles. A general consternation ensued. All who were alarmed for the lives of their royal masters, crowded to the Palace. During this interval, the inhabitants of Versailles, either from fear, or re-

volutionary zeal, were preparing to supply their Parisian friends and brethren with refreshments, and afford them a temporary accommodation in the guard-house, churches, coffee-houses, and other public places.

Having witnessed these preparations, my duty prompted me to put on a National Guard's uniform, and to repair immediately to the palace, carrying with me a double-barrelled gun, taken to pieces; a brace of pistols, two large powder horns, and about two hundred bullets in my waistcoat pockets; all completely concealed under a great coat.

After I had related what I had seen to the principal officers on duty about Their Majesties, I hastened to make the same communication to Mad. Ribault, the first lady of the bed chamber, and to M. Campon, librarian and secretary to the Queen's cabinet; I likewise informed them of my intention of passing the night in the saloon of the Queen's nobles, in order to be able the more promptly to apprise His Majesty of any danger to which he might be exposed, to second the zeal of his guards resisting the rebels, and to afford the unfortunate Princess time to fly, in case her apartments were broke into. But these persons, less

terrified than myself at the perilous situation of their royal mistress, dissuaded me from my intention, observing to me: "That similar reports had been "frequently spread; that the department of the "police, and those of the minister of the interior "and foreign affairs, would certainly have in- "formed the court, if they were exposed to any "real danger: that the people of Paris would be "afraid to come to Versailles; that the banks of "the Seine were mounted with cannon; that the "bridges of Sevès and St. Cloud having been or- "dered to be broken down on the first signal of "alarm, the arrival of the Parisians was a dream, "and, that, in case of necessity, the marshalsea "and the regiment of Flanders would be sent to "reinforce the troops at the disposal of the Count "d'Estaing, who declared that he had guarded "against all possible events."

After these explanations, equally false and inconsistent, those same persons of the Queen's household concluded by telling me, "To be per- "fectly persuaded that all the Royal Family were "quite at ease on that point, and that they would "retire to rest, as well as every other person in "waiting in the Palace." Such was the security of those who approached Their Majesties the nearest!

It was in vain that I insisted; I was obliged to retire, with the most heartfelt grief at my ill success in not inspiring those persons with my alarms, who were almost continually about the Queen.

Determined, however, to render myself useful, I went to the saloon of the nobles, with an intention of passing the night there. Madame Elizabeth having observed me, called me to give her an account of all I had seen and heard in the town, and directed me to go out again in order to learn if the blaze of light seen near the Assembly, did not proceed from her country house, which was thought to be set on fire by the fish-women of Paris.

I immediately flew to execute the order of this Princess, and learned, as I walked, that the Royal Family, dismayed by the troubles of the capital, and those of Versailles, had, for a moment, formed the design of going to Compiègne through the park; that the corps of the national guards of the Rue de l'Orangerie had shut the iron gates of the Palace, and forcibly brought back the carriages to the stables; and that the National Guard of Versailles, having observed a detachment of the Life Guards who were returning with the King's hunting party,

which they had accompanied, and who were going back to their quarters, had fired several times at those loyal and innocent servants. The great light which had given so much uneasiness was produced by a great number of lighted torches held about the door of the National Assembly, contiguous to the garden of that Princess.

It was in consequence of the momentary idea of removing the Royal Family to Compiègne, that evil minded persons, a week after, on the 6th of October, in order to justify the crimes of that day, spread the report that the Life Guards had formed the plan to carry off the King to Metz. I have since learned that Messieurs de St. Priest, and de la Luserne, both ministers of the King, had advised his Majesty on his return from hunting, not to lose a moment in removing from Versailles; and, that in consequence, the Queen, about five o'clock in the evening, had hastily entered the apartment of the sub-governesses of her children, telling them: "In a quarter of an hour "we shall set out, pack up with all haste;" but that those ladies, half an hour after, having sent for further orders, she had replied: "Go and "tell them that the plan is entirely given "up, and that we remain." If that Princess had set out, she would never have escaped

from the assassins who were numerously posted in all the roads leading to the Palace.

On return from my inquiries, I found the iron gates shut, as well as all the other gates of the Palace, and all the approaches to it without guards or any other kind of troops; and although, on my leaving the Palace, I had directed the porter, on behalf of Madame Elizabeth, to allow me to re-enter it, as I had a report to make to that Princess, I could not make myself heard, notwithstanding the violence with which I knocked.

Finding myself utterly unable to render an account of my mission, and to pass the night in the Palace, I returned home, overwhelmed with grief, my mind still dwelling on the dangers to which the Royal Family were exposed. I was drawn from these reflections by the noise of a part of the Parisian horde who passed under my windows at midnight, in the street Satory, in their way to the church of St. Lewis, and the different guard-houses of that quarter.

Urged by my apprehensions, which were increased by the arrival of these furious bands, to go out, and seek for further intelligence in every direction, I observed that armed multitude to

remain tolerably quiet, and was informed that the King and Queen had just been set at ease by the Marquis de la Fayette, who had told them: "That he answered with his life for the conduct "of his soldiers, and that the Royal Family might "retire to rest in perfect security." I then returned home, though in a state of mind not easy to describe.

It was on that evening that the Queen began to display that heroism which has since been the admiration of the whole world. After the King's departure, as first intended, was countermanded, it was proposed to His Majesty, that, at all events, the Queen and the Dauphin should set out: but the Queen heroically declared she would never leave the King and that she would share his destiny. An aid-de-camp of M. de la Fayette having announced at ten o'clock at night, that the Parisian army was approaching, the Queen alone, amidst so many men dispirited and dismayed, exhibited a noble and undaunted countenance, displaying an extraordinary presence of mind, while all who surrounded her betrayed their anxiety and their grief. On the evening of the 5th of October, she received a great assemblage of persons in her grand cabinet, conversing with energy and dignity to all who approached her,

and inspiriting those who could not conceal their alarms. "I know," said she, "that they are coming from Paris to demand my head: but I have "learned from my mother not to fear death, and "I shall meet it with firmness." An officer of the Life Guards, speaking with indignation of this new attempt of the factious, and of all that was passing at Versailles, the Queen, unaffectedly changed the subject, and turning towards a deputy of the nobility, she said to him in a low tone of voice: "I gave a turn to the "conversation because I observed a valet-de-"chambre of the Duke of Orleans, and I am at a "loss to know how he gained admittance here." As the peril becomes more imminent, this Princess will be seen to display the courage of her mother; and if, with the same magnanimity, she was not equally successful, it is because Maria Theresa looked up to the nobles of Hungary, whereas it was the unhappy destiny of the Queen to address herself only to the misled citizens of Paris.

I must here briefly state what passed on that evening in the National Assembly. At the time that the women and the pikemen were arriving from Paris, Mirabeau drew near the President, M. Mounier, and in a low tone held with him

the following short conference, as related by M. Mounier himself.

" Mr. President, forty thousand armed men " are coming from Paris; hasten the deliberation, " break up the sitting, feign illness, say that you " are going to wait upon the King."—" I never " hasten the deliberations, I observe that they " are too frequently hastened."—" But, Mr. " President, these forty thousand men!"—" So " much the better! they have only to kill us all; " none excepted; you comprehend me; the pub- " lic business will go on the better for it."— " Mr. President, you are jocose." So. saying, he withdrew.

Mirabeau wished (and though he made the proposition from secret motives, he proved to be right) to preserve the National Assembly from the degrading incursion of which the place of their deliberations soon became the theatre; a disgusting scene, dishonourable to themselves, and which brought upon them the contempt of the people.

A huissier, named Maillard, a kind of demoniac, who had arrived from Paris with the fish-women, came and harangued the Assembly in the name of those ladies; but his speech, which

was that of a drunken man, is not worth repeating. He denounced the aristocrats and the priests, whom he accused of robbing the people of their bread, and of giving money to the millers to prevent them from grinding; he denounced also the Life Guards, and all who wore black cockades. His vociferations were soon supported by those from the mob of women, who forced themselves into the hall of the Assembly, seating themselves amongst the deputies, and behaving very riotously. *Do you speak?* said they to the deputies who had the reputation of patriotism; *Hold your tongues!* cried they to others who were endeavouring to restore order and decorum in the Assembly; and these indecencies were accompanied with those singular gesticulations peculiar to the fish-women of Paris. The Bishop of Langres was then president, in the absence of M. Mounier, who had caused himself to be deputed to the King, in order to oblige His Majesty to accept without modification, and above all without delay, the decrees of the night of the 4th of August, and the nineteen articles of the constitution which had already passed the Assembly, though imperfectly drawn up. M. Mounier thought that it was the observations (which the ministers, conjointly with the committee of the constitution, had caused to be read two days before,) on all those principles

vaguely set forth, and on decrees without order or connection, which had excited the general fermentation in Paris, and that the King's acceptation would consequently appease it. He was accompanied in this mission by a deputation of fish-women;—To judge of the spectacle caused by this double deputation, it will be necessary to describe it in his own words.

" We were on foot," said he, " in the mud, " amidst a torrent of rain. A considerable num- " ber of the inhabitants of Versailles lined, on " each side, the avenue leading to the Palace. " The women from Paris formed different assem- " blages, having amongst them a small pro- " portion of men, most of them in tatters, " with savage countenances, menacing gestures, " and setting up the most horrid yells. They were " armed with a few muskets, old pikes, hatchets, " sticks tipt with iron, or long poles, with " sword or knife blades at the end; and small de- " tachments of the Life Guards patroled and gal- " loped about, amidst their shouts and hisses."

It was six o'clock in the evening when the President of the National Assembly entered the Palace, accompanied by fifteen deputies, and twelve fish-women. One of those women, named Louisa

Chabry, seventeen years of age, deputed to address the King in the name of her companions, was so struck with his presence, that she fainted away. Soon recovering, she wished to kiss the hand of the Monarch who embraced her, and enjoined her, as well as those who had accompanied her, to inform the people, that he was going to give orders for grain to be brought, and every obstacle removed which might retard its arrival. Satisfied with this answer, these women went and rejoined the multitude, crying *Long live the King, Long live our good King, to-morrow we shall have bread.* But other proofs of what they said were required of them, than a verbal assurance. Their comrades accused them of having been bribed, seized them, and carried them to the nearest lantern post, in order to hang them, as was then customary, without form of trial. Fortunately some of the Life Guards succeeded in rescuing them, and brought them into the Palace, in order to save their lives. They were then re-conducted to the King, who delivered to them the same order, signed with his hand, which he had verbally announced to them. Provided with this document, they were received with general acclamations, and the cry of *Long live the King* resounded in all the courts of the Palace.

Respecting the unconditional acceptation of the constitution and of the declaration of the rights of man, which the Assembly wished to extort from His Majesty, the hour of nine was prescribed to M. Mounier to obtain the King's answer. At that hour His Majesty closeted himself with his ministers to deliberate with them on the choice of measures; for the ministers were always fearful of endangering the King by firm counsels. If one of them, as was remarked at that time, proposed with trepidation some cowardly measure, a second listened to him with terror, which a third with faltering articulation communicated to the King. M. Mounier perseveringly waited for His Majesty's decision until ten o'clock at night, and at length received his unqualified acceptation.

How perfidious and base is the conduct of a legislative Assembly, who thus avail themselves of a multitude of brigands and the approach of an army, to compel a prince abandoned by every one, to subscribe to the annihilation of his royal prerogatives, at the very moment when others are preparing to attack his person!

M. Mounier, who had lost four hours of a time so precious, during which he had left the Assembly at the mercy of the factious, was fatally un-

deceived on his entering the hall of their sittings, if he had before thought that the King's acceptation would frustrate the conspiracy. After he had entered triumphantly, and had announced the acceptation which he held in his hand, the populace called out to him on all sides, *will that procure us bread?* He was obliged to answer in the negative; and this worthy man had the mortification to find that he had been accessary, contrary to the dictates of his conscience, to the outrages of the demagogues, without having been able to prevent those of the Orleans faction.

When the King received authentic information that the Parisian army was approaching, he ordered most of his Life Guards to set out for Rambouillet, under the command of the Duke de Guiche, in order to save them from the fury of those hordes who were coming to wreak their vengeance upon them. Only the guard on duty remained in the Palace, some of whom, as will be seen, were massacred on the following day, and the others dragged to Paris.

The King having no force to oppose to this army, was desirous at all events to shield himself with the inviolability of the representatives of the nation; he desired the President to repair to the Palace,

and to bring with him as many deputies as he might be able. But the hall was then filled only with porters, fish-women, and a few deputies and agents of the faction, who were passing to and fro, and deliberating on the measures to be taken during the night. Amongst these were, Mirabeau, who with a sabre slung over his coat, was not the least conspicuous; (which made M. de Valfont remark, who met him thus accoutred, that he very much resembled Charles the XIIth) Adren-Dufort, Barnave, the Marquis of Sillery, Latouche, the Duke of Biron, Robespierre, Buzot, the Duke of Aiguillon, Pethion, and a few others. M. Mounier was under the necessity of assembling, by beat of drum, the deputies who had already retired to their houses. In the mean while, the National Guard arrived, composed of nearly twenty thousand men, followed by a train of artillery and every warlike preparation. M. de la Fayette who was coming to Versailles to execute the orders of this armed populace, made them halt at the gates of this city, and swear that they would respect the National Assembly and the Law, and obey the King, whom they were coming to drag from his Palace, to remove him to Paris. M. de la Fayette presented himself afterwards to the Assembly, and told the President: "That his apprehensions ought "to cease; that the appearance of his army ought

" to alarm no one; that they had sworn not to " commit nor to allow any violence; that the " discontent of the people ought to be calmed, " by entreating the King to order away the regi- " ment of Flanders, and to say a few words in " favour of the national cockade." On leaving the hall of the Assembly, this General waited upon the King, and assured him that Paris was perfectly quiet, and that his troops and himself were only come to watch over the safety of the Royal Family and that of the Assembly. He had afterwards a short conference in private with his Majesty, after which the President of the Assembly arrived at the Palace, attended by a considerable number of deputies. The King informed them that the arrival of M. de la Fayette and the promises he had just received from him, made him no longer fearful of the circumstances which had alarmed him; and, thanking them for their zeal, he recommended them to retire. M. de la Fayette placed some soldiers of his militia as sentinels at the different posts of the Palace, answered for the intentions of his troops and the maintenance of good order, and retired afterwards at two o'clock to the Hôtel de Noailles, in order to refresh himself with a little rest; thus, according to the expression of a celebrated journal of the time, " he " went and threw himself into the arms of Mor-

" pheus, after having lulled the victims asleep " surrounded by executioners." This same journal adds:

" From three o'clock in the morning until half " after five, nothing transpires, and all appears " buried in the still horror of night. The pro- " found security of the Royal Family, sleeping " amidst a horde of assassins, reinforced by twenty " thousand soldiers, was, however, a spectacle " worthy of admiration; and that, on the simple " word of a general, who himself acknowledged " that he had only conducted or, more properly " speaking, followed his army, for fear of being " hung on the Place de Grève! It is perhaps the " first example of so much fear having inspired " so much confidence!"

M. de la Fayette has been severely censured for having slept on that occasion. If nature, exhausted by the agitations and fatigues of the day he had passed, required a short interval of repose, the King's anti-chamber was the place in which he ought to have taken it. Could he in fact be ignorant that the same faction, which early in the morning had sent off all the dregs of the Parisian populace, would endeavour, in the obscurity of the night, to carry their secret designs into execution? And if there was reason to apprehend it,

how was he capable of absenting himself from the sacred persons of the King and Queen?

Adrien Duport, a tool of that faction which had so great a share in the revolution of the 14th of July, was one of the most active promoters of this second revolution. He was seen, during the night, haranguing the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders, and prevailing upon them to join the insurgents. All the loungers of the Palais Royal, the accomplices, or rather the instigators of the Duke of Orleans, Laclos, Sillery, Latouche, Aiguillon, Oraison, Mirabeau, and several other subordinate personages, were on foot all night amongst this mob, whom they were taking every means to intoxicate. It appeared afterwards, from the judicial reports, that some of them had assumed the meanest disguises to prevent their being known. In the proceedings of the châtelet, the Duke of Orleans was stated to have been seen riding amongst those groups dispersed in the avenues of Versailles, and that that Prince had appeared for a few minutes at the Palace about six o'clock in the morning; but those circumstances were never clearly proved.

At that hour I started from my bed, and found the Parisian bands on the place d'armes facing the

Palace. That army, which seemed to be deliberating, were promiscuously intermixed with the fish-women and pikemen; in the midst of them all was discernible, a man with a prodigious long beard, known by every one in Paris, and who was afterwards surnamed *coupe-tête*, or head-chopper. They all appeared undetermined, and to be consulting amongst each other on the propositions made to them by persons in disguise *. One of these assemblages, having

* I will not cite here the various proofs I could bring forward of the atrocious projects of the conspirators. I will only give an extract from the proceedings of the châtelet, since printed in two volumes, of the deposition of a man whose partiality certainly cannot be suspected; I mean that of the famous Paul Barras, since director. He made the following answer to the interrogatories of the châtelet, when that court instituted their enquiry into the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October. Deponent saith, that on Monday the 5th of October, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, he overheard three men conversing together, one of the three, about thirty years of age, fair, oval countenance, middle-sized, dressed in a light mixture coat, and whom the deponent recognized, from different indications, to live in the street St. Honoré, and to be above the commonalty, said to the others with much warmth and agitation: "That they would soon be in sufficient force; "that the militia would soon arrive; that they ought to go to "the palace, and seize the persons of the King and Queen, as "well as of all the rogues who surrounded them; that none "of them were of any use, that if they were incapable of governing,

very unexpectedly gone to the quarters of the King's Life Guards, with the design of carrying away their horses, a courageous young groom, a lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, armed with a pitchfork, had resisted them with all his force, and they were resolved to punish him for his resistance. Twenty of these banditti had already dragged him into the street, and were going to suspend him to the fatal lantern-post, when a general cry was heard: *To the Life Guards! To the Life Guards!* Immediately, the savages abandoned their victim, and joined those who took the road leading to the left wing of the Palace, from which they could easily penetrate into the apartments occupied by the Court, the nearest of which was that of the Queen.

M. Deshuttes, and M. Vericourt, two Life Guards, who were stationed as sentinels, one near

"governing, they ought to relieve themselves from such a "burden; that a man of the national militia was coming, "on whom they could rely, and who would powerfully second "their intentions." That then the deponent said to them: "What! gentlemen, conspiracies are then plotting; it is hor- "rible! The King is not the cause of the prevarication of his "ministers." That they answered: "Pugh! Pugh! of what "use is a king, no more of such nonsense," &c. . . . That he then came away, shuddering at their language.

the principal gate, and the other under a vaulted passage leading to the great staircase, were barbarously massacred. The heads of these victims were immediately cut off by the long-bearded man I have just mentioned, and carried about the streets of Versailles, on pikes twelve feet long. The other Life Guards, of whom there were but few at every post, endeavoured to escape. These unfortunate men, to whom all resistance was forbidden, fled in every direction, and found every where savage monsters from whom they did not escape without being covered with wounds.—Fifteen of them were taken and carried towards the gate of the marble court, where they were detained until their particular suffering should be resolved upon.

In the meanwhile, a band of about sixty assassins, composed of men and women, with guides at their head, penetrated without difficulty to the door of the Queen's apartment. The Life Guard who was sentinel there, the Chevalier de Miomandre de St. Marie, refused to let them pass, and alone sustained a combat with this furious horde; one of his comrades, named Durepaire, flew from an adjacent room and endeavoured to assist him in defending the Queen's door, and received so many wounds with sabres and pikes, that they

were both left for dead on the floor of the hall.* They had, however, been able to cry out through the key hole to the first lady of the bed-chamber: "*Save the Queen, her life is in danger!*"

Fortunately, the ladies of the bed-chamber were awakened by those cries, who immediately informed their august mistress of the danger which threatened her. The Queen had scarcely time to leap from her bed, and to fly through a long narrow passage which communicated from her apartment to that of the *Œil de Bœuf*, and afterwards to the apartments of the King. When Her Majesty had reached the *Œil de Bœuf*, she found the door locked, and was obliged to wait several minutes, in the midst of the most cruel apprehensions, before it could be opened. This unfortunate Princess, having escaped from the hands of the assassins, found herself at last in the arms of the King, who had gone to meet her, and she had soon the happiness to see all her

* M. de Miomandre was trepanned at the infirmary of Versailles. As soon as he had recovered from his wounds, the numerous enemies which this act of fidelity had brought upon him, obliged him to expatriate himself. In travelling through the kingdom, he was every where received with so much enthusiasm as clearly shewed that the infection of Jacobinsm had not become general.

children, and Madame Elizabeth, assembled around her.

The ruffians, no longer meeting with any resistance, advanced to the Queen's bed, the curtains of which they drew; but finding that their victim had escaped, they furiously threw themselves upon the bed, which they pierced with their pikes. From the apartment of the Queen, they returned to the gallery to break open the Œil de Bœuf, and the apartment of the King, and in their sanguinary rage, would have massacred the Royal Family, had they not met in the anti-chamber the old grenadiers of the French Guards, who had taken the Life Guards under their protection, and who, together with a small number of them, defended the door of the King. The grenadiers having threatened to fire upon that horde of miscreants, if they did not instantly quit the palace, they made off by the great staircase, and went to rejoin the group of brigands in the court, who were preparing to kill the fifteen Life Guards under the very windows of the King.

M. de la Fayette, who had been awakened during this interval, hastened to the Palace.—Sensible of the imprudence of having slept, of his credulity, and all the faults he had committed for twenty-four hours, he harangued, in a most im-

passioned tone, the old French Guards, who were newly incorporated into the Parisian Militia, and demanded of them if they would allow brave men to be basely assassinated before their eyes. They swore that they would not. He then placed those unfortunate men under their safeguard and that of an officer of the national militia. At the same moment, the King, informed that his guards were in the most imminent danger of being inhumanly murdered, opened his windows, and presenting himself at the balcony, entreated the people to spare the lives of his guards.—Those of them who had taken refuge about the King's person, wishing to save their comrades, threw their bandoliers to the people from the balcony, crying '*Long live the Nation!*' Reiterated shouts of '*Long live the King!*' immediately resounded in all the courts of the Palace; and those same guards of the King, who, but a few instants before, were in dread of being the victims of the furious populace, suddenly found themselves embraced and caressed by those very tigers who had just been disputing in what manner the punishment of death should be inflicted upon them.

When the Queen had entered the King's apartment, the fidelity of those soldiers who had already been bribed, was by no means ascertained.

Grief and dismay were painted on the countenances of all who were about Their Majesties' persons. The ministers and a few deputies of the nobility stood by the King; but the consternation into which they were thrown did not allow them a sufficient exercise of their judgment to offer any kind of advice. M. Necker, who had so long been the idol of the people, might, and even ought, to have tried the illusion of his popularity and his reputation, in favour of the Royal Family; but he remained motionless and dismayed, while the Queen, with a noble and affecting firmness, was consoling and encouraging all around her. "I have the courage to "know how to die," said she to them; "but I "could wish that those who are base enough to "make assassination a trade, should feel the "consciousness of their crime, and appear in "their true light." Soon after the ministers had arrived at the palace, some muskets were again fired in the courts, and aimed at the windows of His Majesty's apartment. I have been informed that M. de la Luzerne, Minister of the Marine, having observed a bullet strike the wall near the window where the Queen was standing, advanced and stept, as if from curiosity, between her and the window. His real motive did not escape the Queen: "I perceive," said she to M. de la Lu-

zerne, " what your intention is, and I thank you " for it; but I will not permit you to remain " there: it is not your place, it is mine;" and she obliged him to retire.

In the meantime, the brigands who had been dispersed by the grenadiers of the French Guards, were not idle. They plundered the quarters of the Life Guards of the arms and other effects they found there, and carried away the horses, on which they paraded the avenues of Versailles. In the morning, they had thrown a sick man from the windows of the barracks of the Life Guards. At eight o'clock they sent the heads of the guards whom they had massacred, to Paris, and they arrived at the gates of that city, before the Royal Family had set off from Versailles.

Although the people had pardoned the Life Guards, they did not lose sight of the principal object of their enterprize. They loudly demanded that the King should come to Paris; saying, that they should not want provisions if the Royal Family were to reside in the capital. In the Council which Their Majesties were then holding, M. de la Fayette, strenuously supported that measure.

The King, fatigued, solicited, and pressed on all sides, at length complied, and gave his word that he would set off at noon. This promise soon flew from mouth to mouth, and was answered by the acclamations of the people and the firing of musquetry.

His Majesty then appeared a second time at the balcony, in order to confirm to the people the promise he had just made to M. de la Fayette. On his re-appearance, the joy of the populace was unbounded. A voice was heard to cry out, *The Queen at the Balcony.* That Princess, who never appeared so great and magnanimous as in moments of the most imminent danger, presented herself without hesitation at the balcony, holding the Dauphin in one hand and Madame Royale in the other. A voice then exclaimed: *No children.* The Queen, moving back her arms, sent her children from her to the hall, and remained alone at the balcony folding her arms across her breast with a dignified composure impossible to describe, and thus appearing to await her destiny. This act of resignation so astonished the assassins, and inspired the great majority of the people with so much admiration, that a general clapping of hands, and cries of *Bravo! Long live the Queen!* reiterated

on all sides, disconcerted the evil-intentioned.—I saw, however, a ruffian aim at the Queen, and a man near him lower the barrel of the gun, and on the point of killing the brigand, who no doubt was one of those who had broken into the palace in the morning.

" The air of grandeur of the Queen in this hu-
" miliating situation," said a writer whom I have already quoted, " that proof of courage in such
" a perilous obedience, triumphed, by the great
" surprise it excited, over the barbarity of the peo-
" ple by whom she was universally applauded. Her
" genius rectified the instinct of the misled mul-
" titude; and if crimes, conspiracies, and matured
" systems were necessary to her enemies to cause
" her to be assassinated, to her a moment was
" sufficient to cause her to be admired. Thus, by
" exposing her life, did the Queen subdue the
" public opinion.

The Parisian army, satisfied with carrying the Royal Family away with them, thought only of returning, and concerted the order of their march. It was resolved that they should set out as soon as the Court should be ready, and that they should go direct to the Hôtel de Ville.

At eight o'clock in the morning, and before he had given his word to follow the rebels to Paris, the King had expressed an earnest desire to several deputies, that all the members of the National Assembly should attend him, in order to assist him with their counsels in the alarming crisis in which he was placed. Those deputies found a considerable number of their colleagues in the hall of their sittings, some who had been there all night, and others who had come there in the morning. On signifying to them the desires of the King, Mirabeau answered: "That the Pre-"sident could not make them attend the King "without deliberating." He was supported by the galleries, who declared that they ought not to quit the hall. At ten o'clock the President arrived, and communicated the intentions of the King, with which His Majesty had just made him acquainted. Mirabeau again opposed it, saying: "That it was not consistent with the "the dignity of the Assembly to wait upon His "Majesty; that they could not deliberate in the "Palaces of Kings; that the deliberations would "be suspicious, and that it would be sufficient "to send a deputation of thirty-six members."

Mirabeau had scarcely pronounced these words, so full of disloyalty and hypocrisy, and which so manifestly proved that he acted in con-

cert with the brigands of the day, when the National Assembly was informed that His Majesty had yielded to the orders of those very brigands and the Parisian hordes. That same Mirabeau who, during the peril of the King, had voted that a deputation of thirty-six members was sufficient, was now ready to propose giving him a hundred as witnesses of his captivity; and having refused to be of the first deputation, which might apprehend some danger in succouring the King, he now readily offered himself for the second which was to degrade His Majesty, by encreasing the procession of his conquerors.

When I heard of the resolution which the Royal Family had been obliged to take, my apprehensions were extreme. My determination could not be doubtful; it was my duty to follow them. Having observed that the National Guard of Versailles was treated with enthusiasm by the Parisian army, I immediately resolved to add the decorations of an officer of the staff to my dress of simple volunteer, in order, on any emergency, to over awe the disaffected. I afterwards procured a horse from M. de. Salvert, Equerry to the Queen, and stationed myself as near as I was able to Their Majesties' carriage.

The King did not set off until one o'clock in the afternoon; and as every thing had been some time in readiness for the triumphal march of which he was the subject, the people murmured loudly at the delay.

The principal body of the Parisian troops first defiled, each soldier carrying a loaf on the point of his bayonet. Next followed the fish-women, intoxicated with fury, joy, and wine, holding branches of trees decorated with ribbons, bestriding the cannon, mounted on the horses of the Life Guards, and wearing their hats, some in complete armour, and others armed with sabres and muskets. The multitude of brigands and Parisian workmen surrounded them. Waggons full of corn and flour, carried off at Versailles, covered over with leaves and green boughs, formed a convoy accompanied by the grenadiers who had seized the Life Guards, and for whose lives the King had implored mercy. These captives, led one by one, were disarmed, on foot, and bare-headed, some of whom had changed their hats for the caps of the grenadiers of the National Guards, in token of peace and union. Dragoons, soldiers of the regiment of Flanders, and the hundred Swiss Guards preceded, surrounded, and followed the carriage of the King,

in which he was accompanied by all the Royal Family and the governess of his children: his situation and that of the Queen may easily be imagined. It would be dfficult to paint the confused and tedious disposing of this march which lasted more than six hours. It commenced by a general discharge of all the musquetry of the National Guards of Versailles and Paris; and as they stopped occasionally to fire other vollies, the fishwomen alighted from their cannon and horses, forming rings before the carriage of the King, embracing the soldiers, and singing, in horrid discord, songs, the chorus of which was: *Here is the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy.*. The horror of a dark, cold, rainy day, that infamous militia muttering in the dirt, those harpies, those monsters with human faces, and amidst his captive guards, a Monarch ignominiously forced away with *all his Family*, inspired such a sad mixture of grief and shame, and formed altogether so dreadful a scene, that I cannot even now recal it to my imagination without experiencing the greatest agitation.

The Municipalty having been informed, by a succession of couriers, of every thing that had passed at Versailles, had sufficient time to make the necessary preparations to receive the Court, and

M. Bailly was directed to harangue the King on his arrival.*

It is impossible to form an idea of the language used by the populace along the road. I remained the greater part of the time at the right door of their Majesties' carriage, and on every discharge of musquetry and shouting of the populace, I looked towards the King's carriage, when Their Majesties condescended to testify to me their surprize at the people having been misled to such a degree, by lifting their eyes towards heaven, and by such gestures as they were able to make.

The Queen was sometimes in a state of insensibility difficult to describe. Her son was in her lap, suffering from hunger, and asking for food. Maria-Antoinetta unable to procure him any, pressed him to her bosom, bathing him with her tears, and exhorting him to suffer patiently; to which the young Prince conformed with the greatest resignation.

The concourse of people, and the narrowness

* It was on this occasion that he called the day on which the King was dragged to Paris, *an auspicious day*; an expression for which he has been much blamed for applying to so calamitous a day.

of the quays, before they arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, obliged all the horsemen who surrounded the King's carriage, to get before it. We were obliged to wait for it on the Place de Grève, behind the line of National Guards who occupied half the space of that ground.

The disposal of the armed force of Paris, disappointed all my endeavours to approach the Hôtel de Ville, even on foot. My grief was inexpressible, when I saw the troops, which formed a triple square, only open to make a passage for the King's carriage, excluding even his foot-guards who had accompanied him from Versailles.

The Royal Family, surrounded by the Municipality and the Staff, disappeared in an instant from my sight. The Viscount de Montmorin, Colonel en Second of the regiment of Flanders, perceiving my extreme uneasines, drew near me and said to me privately: "*Make yourself easy; "I am present with all my men, and I can rely "upon them.*" It is to be observed, that he had only a detachment of his regiment, and that detachment was surrounded by fifty thousand armed men.

As soon as the Royal Family had entered the Hôtel de Ville, the King was obliged to hear two harangues of M. Bailly, and the denouncing of his ministers. The proceedings of the sitting were afterwards drawn up, and publickly read by M. Bailly. But as he cited incorrectly several passages of the King's speech, the Queen interrupted him with that presence of mind which formed one of the noblest traits of her character. He had omitted one of the most interesting expressions of the King's speech, and the Queen reminded him gracefully that His Majesty had said: *I have always relied on the attachment and fidelity of my people, and have placed myself amongst my subjects with an entire confidence.*

This cruel sitting lasted more than an hour. The profound silence which reigned during that time, in the interior of the Hôtel de Ville, caused the greatest uneasiness to every loyal mind. At that moment, almost every one seemed to be interested in favour of the King and Queen. impatience and alarms communicating from one to the other, and increasing every instant, the multitude of people which covered the Place de Grève, resembled a waving sea.

The Municipalty having been informed that the

ple were murmuring, immediately ordered the windows of the Hôtel de Ville to be opened, in order to shew them the Royal Family, whose features they had taken care to render more distinguishable, by placing two lights on each side of the window.

Their Majesties saluted the people at different intervals, who answered them with the warmest applauses. Their presence appeased the crowd, and inspired the most general satisfaction, which was expressed by shaking of hands, and every demonstration of the most lively joy.

The Royal Family afterwards got into their carriage amidst the acclamations of the publick, and, attended by a party of the National Guards, went to the Palace of the Thuilleries, and Monsieur and Madame to that of the Luxemburg.

The new retinue being without horsemen, the people, notwithstanding my staff regimentals of the Versailles Militia, would not allow me to remain near the carriage on horseback, for fear of my riding over some of the crowd. However, thanks to the efforts I made, and to the assistance of two of my friends,* I succeeded in arriving at

* The Chevalier Barreau d'Angoulême, and the Chevalier de Mondollot,

the palace of the Thuilleries without quitting Their Majesties.

I left the Royal Family at ten o'clock in the evening, and withdrew, overwhelmed with sorrow and fatigue. The next morning I paid my respects to the Queen. That august Princess called me with her usual goodness, saying to me: "*Weber, you suffered a great deal yesterday; I am* "*much pleased with you; the King has informed* "*me that you behaved admirably; you will now re-* "*side in Paris.*" I answered, That I besought Her Majesty to allow me always to accompany her, to partake her dangers, and to be well assured that it was my earnest wish to have an army at my disposal, penetrated with my sentiments, and ready to defend her, or to enable her and all her august family to quit a nation so misled.

Mondolot, the one Brigadier, and the other Maréchal des Logis, of the Life Guards. These two brave officers, on foot, and without arms, followed their unfortunate Sovereigns in the crowd to the Hôtel de Ville, and from thence to the Thuilleries.

The next morning, coming from mass with the Royal Family, I saw a considerable number of them lining the passage of the apartments. Most of them were without hats, their dresse torn, and so pale, that they drew tears from their Majesties and their attendants.

The Court, in the first week of their residence at Paris, were visited by the principal inhabitants of that capital. The etiquette continued the same as at Versailles, excepting that the King added a public dinner every Thursday, in order to satisfy the impatient zeal and curiosity of his subjects.

At the end of that month, overwhelmed with the painful impressions of all that had passed before my eyes, hearing every day more terrible menaces against the Court, more afflicting language against the Queen, and observing how much this august family suffered from the past, the present, and their apprehensions of the future, my health declined; I lost my sleep and my strength, and became dangerously ill, nor should I so soon have recovered from the consequences of a fever which I had several months, but for the attentions of M. Vicq-d'Azyr,* by whose skill, and the charms and philosophy of his conversation, I was consoled and restored to health.

* First Physician to the Queen, and a Member of the French Academy.

CHAPTER IV. CONTINUED.

The Residence of the Royal Family at Paris during the Term of the Constituent Assembly, from the 5th of October, 1789, until the 30th September, 1791.

THE Royal Family were scarcely installed in the apartments of the Thuilleries and the Luxemburg, when that long imprisonment commenced which only terminated with the lives of most of those august personages. The faithful guards who had just made a rampart of their bodies, were dismissed; and in the state of disorganization which began to take place in the army, those brave servants would have been destitute of every resource, if the beneficence of their masters had not provided for their support. They were replaced in their services about the Royal Family by M. de la Fayette and his revolutionary militia; and the Queen was frequently condemned to see at her door some of those very men who had broken into her apartment at Versailles; but here she had no longer those devoted sentinels who so lately had given her, at the risk of their lives, suf-

ficient time to escape from her danger. She was every day on the point of being assassinated.—*Inter centuriones et milites, præsagio malorum jam vitâ exemptâ, nondum tamen morte adquiescebat.**

The Dauphin no longer seeing faces that he knew, asked one day why he never observed the Life Guards? The Queen answered: "My son, "the King has no longer any Guards but the "hearts of the French." Another day, a deputation of the Life Guards having been introduced to that Princess, she received them with the greatest distinction, and thus addressed them:— "Gentlemen, the sentiments of which you are "the interpreters, cannot but be highly accept- "able to us: the King will prove to you, upon "all occasions, how much he is affected by them. "I will engrave upon the heart of my son the "remembrance of your devoted loyalty, and I am "certain that he will never forget the signal ser- "vices you have rendered us."

On the 9th of October, M. Bailly came at the head of a deputation of the Municipality, to compliment the Queen. "Madame," said he,

* Delivered up to centurions and soldiers, with a presentiment of her last misfortunes, she had already ceased to live, without enjoying the repose which death affords.

" I bring to Your Majesty the dutiful address of " the city of Paris, and the assurances of the love " and respect of its inhabitants. The city is " proud to see you again in the ancient palace " of our Kings; it is the wish of its inhabitants " that the King and your Majesty should make " it your habitual residence; and when the King " grants them that favour, they will be happy to " think that Your Majesty has contributed in ob- " taining it for them." The Queen made to M. Bailly this short answer. " I receive with " pleasure the dutiful address of the city of Paris. " I shall accompany the King with satisfaction " wheresoever he goes, and particularly here."

The Dauphin, observing the furniture and ancient tapestry of the palace, and astonished at the obscurity which reigned in those apartments, so long uninhabited, and out of repair, said to his mother: " Mama, every thing here is very ugly." " My son," answered the Queen, " Louis the " XIVth lived in it, and was satisfied; we must " not be more difficult than he."

A considerable number of deputies, at this period quitted the National Assembly, and even the kingdom. Amongst the latter were M. Mounier, and M. de Lally Tolendal, who after-

wards expressed their indignation at the crimes of the 6th of October in the most energetic language.*

* The following is an extract of a letter which M. de Lally Tolendal wrote from Switzerland, whither he had taken refuge after the 5th of October. The indignation which he excited in every breast at the crimes of that day, caused it to be forgotten that it was he who had made the report in which a Senate for life was proposed to the French Nobility.

" Neither that guilty city (Paris), nor that still more guilty Assembly deserve that I should justify them. I was no longer able to endure the horror which the duties of my office occasioned. That blood, those heads, that *almost murdered Queen*, and that King carried away in triumph like a slave to Paris, surrounded by assassins, and preceded by the heads of his unfortunate Life Guards; those perfidious janissaries, those cannibal women, those cries of *all the Bishops to the lantern post!* at the moment when the King entered his capital with two Archbishops of his Council in the carriage of his suite; a musket fired into the carriage of the Queen; M. Bailly calling that an auspicious day; the Assembly having coolly declared in the morning, that it was derogatory to their dignity to go in a body and surround the King; the Count de Mirabeau saying with impunity in that Assembly, that the vessel of the state, far from being stopt in its progress, darted forward with more velocity than ever towards its regeneration; M. Barnave laughing with him, when torrents of blood were flowing around us; the virtuous Mounier escaping by a miracle from nineteen assassins who wished to encrease the number of trophies with his head;—These motives made me swear never to set my foot in that cavern of Anthropophagi; me, and all honest men who have seen that the last

M. de la Fayette was at this time responsible to France, and to Europe, for the security of the Royal Family, who had delivered themselves into his hands. He did not, however, dissemble, that as long as the Duke of Orleans should reside in the capital, the populace, whom the faction of that Prince were always ready to set in motion, would keep the city in a state of perpetual agitation, and the Royal Family in alarms still greater.—Besides, he could not allow that Prince to remain at Paris, without, in some degree, sharing the authority with him, or seeing the National Guards continually coming to blows with the populace and the brigands. A negociation took place between them on the subject, of which the chronicles of the time mention several details, but which I shall not repeat, as they are not sufficiently proved. The Duke of Orleans hesitated to comply with the wishes, or rather, with the threats of M. de la Fayette; the King determined him, by telling him that it was impossible

effort for the public good, was to quit it. We brave one death, we brave many, when it may be useful: but no power under heaven, no public or private opinion, has the right to condemn me to suffer a thousand punishments in a minute, and to perish with rage and despair while crimes are triumphing around me. I shall be proscribed, and my property will be confiscated.—*I will cultivate the Earth, and I shall see the guilty no more.*"

that M. de la Fayétte and he should remain in Paris at the same time; that recent events, and the confidence inspired by this General, rendered his presence necessary to the tranquillity of the capital and to that of the Royal Family; that it was indispensable that one of the two should retire, and that consequently it behoved him to yield. — "The last motive," said the King to him, "which obliges me to give you the order, "is, that the factious and the discontented will "never return to their duty as long as you "remain amongst them: your presence will "be always sufficient to make them turbu-"lent; and your absence, by depriving all "parties of the hope of having you for a chief, "can alone give to the National Assembly the "tranquillity it stands in need of in order to "resume its labours."

This discourse, which so well paints the mind of Louis XVI., produced its effect on the Prince, who seemed wearied of the intrigues and measures of the party of which he was the dupe and instrument. He accordingly resolved to go and seek repose, and enjoy his accustomed pleasures in another capital. M. Montmorin wrote to the National Assembly that the King had intrusted the Duke of Orleans with a negociation to Eng-

land, and that that Prince, who was ready to set out, only waited for a passport from the representatives of the nation. The Assembly did not mistake the importance of this mission; the passport was granted, not without many remarks from his friends of the day before, particularly the Count de Mirabeau, on the little energy he displayed on that critical occasion, and Philip of Orleans set off on the 14th of October, judging himself unworthy of all the crimes he was paying, renouncing success on account of the trouble, and putting, as was then observed, *conspiracy on the ground.* He was accompanied by Chederlos Laclos, and Madame de Buffon, thus shewing to England and to all Europe his contempt for public opinion.

To see a captive King without any influence thus put to flight the chief of a formidable faction, a rich prince with the populace at his command, the man in short who had just been disputing with him for his crown and his life, is not one of the least remarkable circumstances of the revolution.

From that moment, many of the friends of the Duke of Orleans, seeing the danger of depending upon him, wished to return to the Court.—

Mirabeau was not the last to express a desire of being useful to the King, on pecuniary and honorary conditions. This negociation between Mirabeau and the Court, would have been concluded much sooner than it was, if the National Assembly had not obstinately rejected all the measures proposed by Mirabeau, when they suspected that they were intended to introduce him to the counsels of the King. It was in vain urged to the Assembly that the King had already chosen three of their members for his ministers, that the English constitution allows the ministers to sit in the legislative body, and that it is even impossible without it that a government should able to go on, without experiencing dangerous shocks and collisions; nothing could dissipate their alarms occasioned by the mere possibility of seeing Mirabeau a member of administration. The Royalists had closely observed the share that man had taken in the commotions of the capital since the month of May, and they dreaded to see him in a situation which would have given him daily access to the persons of Their Majesties. In this, another part of the Assembly was influenced by the preponderance of M. Necker, who, in opposing the designs of Mirabeau, had much less in view to keep from the King's counsels an immoral man, than a dangerous rival, who would soon have

exposed to the nation, to the King, and to the assembly, the contracted views and the insufficiency of that proud minister.

The Queen, observing that Mirabeau had deserted the Duke of Orleans after his departure for England, rightly judged that every means should be taken to secure that leading energetic man, and to prevent him from joining the parties about to be formed on the wreck of the Orleans party. M. de la Fayette, who perfectly well knew the very slender opinion Mirabeau entertained of him, as well as of M. Necker, constantly opposed him at that period. He was satisfied with giving him a sum of money, by way of loan, through a third person, and remained in peaceable possession of the functions of first counsellor, and governor and commander in chief of the Royal Family, during their residence in the Thuilleries.

Maria-Antoinetta now seeing about herself and the King, but few persons who were known to her, men devoid of every energy unless to insult them, and scarcely any who possessed the necessary vigour to protect them sufficiently, could not without much difficulty dissemble the profound grief which overwhelmed her heart.

In order to convey an idea of her situation, and the restraints she imposed upon herself, I will relate an anecdote which will at the same time shew the judgement and the sensibility of the Dauphin.

The women of the Queen's bedchamber were conversing one day on the beneficence of Her Majesty, who had just given a marriage portion to a young lady of good family, in order to enable her to marry a worthy man of small fortune, who had paid his addresses to her for some time: *How delighted this young lady will be*, said one of them, *when she knows this good news! She will be as happy as a Queen!* The application of this proverb startled the Dauphin, in whose presence the conversation had passed, who, casting his eyes on the person who had just pronounced those words, with tears in his eyes, said to her: *It certainly is not of Mama you mean to speak, when you thus express yourself.* All the women, confounded at the reflection of the young Prince, were abashed; Madame de Neuville, first woman of the bedchamber, was alone able to speak, who said: *why then is not the mama of your Highness happy?* The young Prince fetched a deep sigh, and pressing both the hands of that lady, and looking mysteriously around him, to see if any strangers were

present, he added, with a faltering voice: *No, I tell you, my mama cannot be happy, she is always weeping.* The ladies wept at this recital, saying to each other, *that is the cause then, of the enflamed eyes of our unhappy mistress. What greatness of soul thus to pass the night in tears, and to be able during the day to preserve that smile upon her lips, and a countenance so serene!*

Alas! how happy ought that nation to have esteemed itself, if their wandering judgements had permitted them to appreciate the value of a Queen, who, weighed down with so much ingratitude, suffered all her misfortunes with heroic patience; who, in secret wept, and in the silence of night, the blindness and malice of her unjust persecutors, and, during the day, never allowed a complaint, or a sigh to escape her, for fear of afflicting those about her; and who almost seriously chid, when she perceived a tear ready to start from the eye of a sympathising servant.

Above all, of what inestimable value ought this Prince to have been to that unthinking nation, who, from his earliest infancy, had given proofs of a sensibility so pure, and a judgement so sound! Numberless other traits no less worthy of admiration, might be mentioned of this young

Prince and his amiable sister; a princess as interesting as unfortunate, who to a graceful person joins a penetrating judgment, and a sensibility which captivates every heart. But let us return to the continued outrages of the revolutionary faction.

As soon as the plots of the 5th of October had failed, the scarcity of provisions was no longer felt. During the week which succeeded the King's arrival in Paris, every one was able to purchase the quantity of bread that he wanted. But after the Duke of Orleans had set out, in a manner so unforeseen and equivocal, his secret agents began again to agitate the populace. Mobs collected at the doors of the bakers, and the lives of those unfortunate men, to whose cupidity they pretended to attribute the high price of flour,* were in the greatest danger. A baker, named François, who had baked all night, was accused of monopoly, and hung by the popu-

* It causes equal surprize and indignation to read in the continuation of the *History of France* by the Abbé Millot, a work in much estimation, that the factitious scarcity which the city of Paris experienced at that time, was produced by the machinations of the cabinet of London. How can a man repeat, so long after erroneous opinions must have been set right, the absurdities which folly at that time dictated to fury?

ace at the same lantern-post where Foulon had already suffered; and his head was carried at the end of a pike before the windows of the Thuilleries. This event induced the National Assembly to decree martial law against future popular assemblages. A man who had been concerned in the murder of one of those porters of the corn-market called the stout men of the market*, was apprehended, tried, and executed. Those who were present at his execution, more astonished than frightened, said ingenuously: "What liberty "have we now? We can no longer hang any "body!" The unfortunate baker was, however, buried with great solemnity; his innocence, and even his moral character, were publicly proved; and a provision was made for his wife and children from the public treasury, to which Maria Antoinetta added a small pension from her privy purse.

The National Assembly removed to Paris on the 19th of October; they held their sittings for twenty days in the Archbishop's palace, until the riding house of the Thuilleries, the place they had chosen, was made ready to receive them.

I was in the hall of the Archbishop's palace on the 2d of November, an ancient advocate of the

* Les forts de la Halle.

clergy presiding, when, on the motion of a bishop who has since acted a conspicuous part in Europe in a secular character, the great question of the ecclesiastical property was definitively terminated. The decree, which was drawn up by Mirabeau, determined, that the estates of the clergy should be at the disposal of the nation, who were to defray the expence of public worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the relief of the poor.

The National Assembly were daily endeavouring to make similar conquests, with a view to consolidate their first encroachments. They suppressed all the assemblies of bailiwicks by orders, the meetings of *pays d'états*, and provincial assemblies. The Parliaments were continued in vacation, and the chambers of vacation commissioned to administer justice. Those who refused to obey, and there were several, were ordered to the bar, reprimanded, insulted, dismissed, and threatened to be delivered up to the popular fury. The ancient limits of the provinces were changed, and a new disposition of territory, and new appellations, substituted. At first, this great measure caused much surprise; the diversity of usages, of manners, and customs, adopted for ages, excited alarms; but all opposition and remonstrance prov-

ed unavailing. By those means, the popular faction was encouraged to effect the disorganizations and changes of denominations which the adepts were preparing, *in petto*, in neighbouring states. It was a natural succession of things. The day there was no longer a Dauphiné, there was no longer a Dauphin.

The Marquis de Favras, a man of an ardent mind, imagined at this period that it would be possible to effect a counter-revolution. According to his plan, nothing more was necessary than to carry off the King to Péronne, to secure the persons of the Marquis de la Fayette, and M. Necker, to assemble 1200 cavalry in Paris, and to have them supported by an army of 20,000 Swiss, 20,000 Sardinians, and 12,000 Germans. He communicated his plan to different persons who had the honour of approaching His Royal Highness *Monsieur*. It appeared to them absurd; and they paid no more attention to his plan than to a hundred others of the same kind, which every one at that time was contriving who wished to make himself conspicuous: but the servants of the Prince would have been ashamed to be the informers against those unfortunate men. In consequence of their silence on this occasion, the Marquis of Favras sounded some of M. de la

Fayette's soldiers; and having unwarrantably hinted to them that the project was sanctioned by several great personages, he was denounced to the Marquis de la Fayette, apprehended, and sent for trial to the Châtelet. The name of *Monsieur* having been implicated in the accusation, he hastened to exculpate himself to the King, who immediately ordered him to go to the municipality, in order that a moment should not be lost in anticipating all the suspicions which would circulate, and which malice would not fail to envenom. The appearance of the Prince at the Municipality, and the frank and dignified tone with which he spoke, were attended with all the success he could expect from that proceeding. M. de la Fayette conducted the prosecution of the unfortunate Favras with an inveteracy which will always be a blot on his character. M. de Quatremere, the reporter of the trial, heard him pronounce these fatal words; "If M. de Favras is not condemned, "I will not answer for the National Guards." He was hung at the Place de Grève for having dreamed of doing a good action, and he excited much interest by the firmness with which he bore his trial and condemnation, and the courage with which he died.

It may easily be imagined that these different

sanguinary scenes caused Their Majesties to live in a state of continual alarm. After the execution of M. de Favras, they had the mortification to see an enormous cannon mounted, by the orders of M. de la Fayette, on that part of the Pont-Neuf where the statue of Henry IV was, and so placed as seemingly to threaten their residence.

Committees of research had been instituted in the National Assembly, and even in the Municipality of Paris; a rival authority already formidable, and which became more so after the formation of the club of patriots which assembled in the convent of Jacobins in St. Honoré Street, under the auspices of the Duke d'Aguillon, the Lameths, and the deputies of the Tiers-Etat, who were the founders of that terrible society.

These committees occupied themselves with such absurd accusations, that they drew upon themselves the sarcasms of the public. M. Charles de Lameth went himself during the night to a convent of nuns, at the head of a detachment of National Guards, in the hope of finding there, and patriotically putting to death, M. de Barentin, the *garde des sceaux.* The curious keep a pretty little poem, entitled the *Annonciades*, for which this ridiculous expedition furnished the

subject. Conspiracies equally groundless and absurd, were every day invented in order to keep the people in constant motion.

The situation in which the King and his family were placed, had excited the most lively emotions of sympathy and some degree of energy. Several periodical writings in favour of the Court, and in opposition to the demagogues, had already appeared. Some were bold enough to endeavour to interest the public in the cause of the Monarch, in calling themselves the King's friends*, while others, at the risk of their lives, openly ridiculed the system of the new constitution, the constituents, and those who disposed of the lantern and the *coupe-têtes*.

* I cannot refrain from transcribing here the ballad of the Bearnese Bard, which was sung wherever the savage air of Ca-Ira was disregarded. The softness of the tune, which was that of an old Languedocian song, was in perfect unison with the words.

THE BEARNESE BARD.

A Bearnese Bard
With eyes o'erflowed with tears,
Sung to his mountaineers
This plaintive strain, the source of great alarms:
Lewis the son of Henry
Is a prisoner in Paris.

Whenever Maria Antoinetta appeared in public, the people, notwithstanding the animosity which it was endeavoured to excite against her, expressed by their acclamations, the respect and

He has seen the blood flow
Of that faithful guard,
Who by their death have just offered
A noble example to the French;
But Lewis the son of Henry
Is a prisoner in Paris.

He has trembled for the life
Of his beloved consort,
Who has found no other resource
Than in the energy of her mind;
She follows the son of Henry
To the prisons of Paris.

What crime have they committed
To be thus confined in chains?
They are the friends of the people;
And can the people be beloved
When they send the son of Henry
To the prisons of Paris?

Shall the Dauphin, that son we cherish,
In whom all our hopes are placed,
Bewail his wretched fate in tears?
The cradle which they give in France
To the children of our Henry,
Is a prison in Paris.

attachment which they still bore towards her. At the opera, the chorus of Iphigenia: *Let us sing, let us celebrate our Queen,* produced applauses equal to those bestowed on Maria-An-

No circumstance of sorrow
Weakens our respect;
The ardent sun beams
Pierce the thickest clouds;
The prisoner of Paris
Is still the son of Henry.

Oh! Ungrateful French,
Release your King, release his consort;
The Bearnese claim him for their own;
He is the child of the mountain;
The happiness which Henry had,
To Lewis we assure.

Ye have regained the exercise
Of the noblest rights of men,
And yet oppress your kings!
Unjust and cruel lot!
The people are free, but Lewis
Is a prisoner in Paris.

At the pedestal of that monument
Where the good Henry reposes,
Why is the brazen cannon placed? *

* This alludes to the cannon of alarm placed on the platform of the Pont-Neuf, at the foot of the equestrian statue of Henry the IVth, and which seemed to be pointed against the palace of the Thuilleries.

toinetta, the first time she appeared there after her accession to the throne. An evening that

Alas! they wish that Henry
Should conspire against his children
In the prisons of Paris.

† A delightful ballad was also parodied in allusion to a charming trait of Madame Elizabeth. Every one sung to the air of *Pauvre Jacques*:

Unhappy people, when thou hadst but one king
Thou didst not feel thy wants;
But at present, with twelve hundred kings,
Thou stand'st in need of ev'ry thing on earth, &c. &c.

---

† The following anecdote gave occasion to this ballad. Each individual of the Royal Family had a country retreat. *St. Cloud* belonged to the Queen, *Brunoi* to Monsieur, *Bagatelle* to the Count d'Artois, and *Bellevue* to the King's aunts. Madame Elizabeth had never expressed a wish to have one; but having come accidentally to a charming seat belonging to Madame de Guémenée, the King said to her: *you are in your own house;* he had, in fact, just privately purchased it in order to give it to her. It was there that Madame Elizabeth passed the most delightful moments of her life in rustic occupations, benevolent actions, and the sweet enjoyment of those sentiments which the face of nature inspires. In order to make a lottery, she sent for four beautiful heifers from Switzerland, and a young girl from the Valais to take care of them. Maria, the name of this lovely, ingenuous girl, could not, in her new place, dispel her melancholy, nor forget her mountains; and particularly *Jacques* to whom she had been promised in marriage. She confided her grief to Madame de Thevenet; who immedi-

Her Majesty was at the Italian Theatre, when the play of *Unforeseen Events* was performed, a celebrated actress (Mrs. Dugazon), who was acting an Abigail's part, having occasion to say: *Ah! how I love my mistress!* She turned towards the Queen's box with a gracefulness peculiar to herself; and the repeated applauses of the pit and the boxes, shewed that there was not an individual in the theatre who did not think as she did.

These little incidents sometimes furnished Maria-Antoinetta with an opportunity of giving delicate and ingenious lessons to those who had made themselves the willing or reluctant instruments of the passions of the factions. Having accompanied the King in a visit which the Royal Family made to the celebrated manufacture of plate-glass in the suburb of St. Antoine, the people came in crowds to enjoy the sight of their monarch. *See Madam*, said M. de la Fayette to the Queen, *how good the people are when you go to meet them! Yes, Sir*, answered the Queen, *but you very well*

---

ately composed and set to music the pretty ballad: *Poor Jacques, when I was with thee, &c.* Maria learned it, and was singing it when Madame Elizabeth happened to be passing. The Princess was so struck with the flexibility of her voice, that she interested herself in her happiness; and hearing that the ballad described her real situation, she sent for *Jacques* from Switzerland, and made them both happy.

know that it is not always the case when they come to meet us. M. de la Fayette felt the remark, and made no reply.

How indeed could this people have withheld their attachment towards Maria-Antoinetta, if their minds had not been misled by calumnies of every kind, *wrought*, as was observed, *by courtiers' hands?* In the first months after her arrival at Paris, she expended 300,000 livres she had saved, in order to redeem from the Mont de Piété such articles of clothing as the indigent had been obliged to pledge there. The baker, François, who had been massacred in the Place de Grève, as already mentioned, left a pregnant wife; Maria-Antoinetta promised to be the godmother of her child, and to provide for it. The most respectful and flattering addresses afforded her at that time a momentary consolation for her past sufferings, and diverted her attention from apprehensions of the future. I copied one day the following verses which one of her waiting women held in her hand, who had just received them to present the Queen:

Her form majestic and her graceful mien,
At once created love, and mark'd the Queen;
A double crown was thus ensur'd her own;
For love and nature plac'd her on the throne.
Replete her heart with all th'historic page,
Relates of virtues in the golden age;

And happy too as lovely, 'till fell times,
Pregnant with matchless woe and matchless crimes,
To dire adversity her days consigned:
Fell times indeed! when science self grew blind!
Thy blushing domes, Versailles! the ruffian saw,
With murderous hand, the guilty dagger draw,
Echo'd the midnight tread, the furious yell,
And clamorous oaths that from th' assassin fell;
Her lord, her son, herself, by friends pursu'd:
Her son how lovely, and her lord how good!
To Heaven resign'd, for France alone alarm'd,
She with a dauntless smile her foes disarm'd;
Awhile suspended fate, and prov'd her soul,
Superior to misfortune's harsh controul.
In vain did rebel hands o'erturn the throne,
The crown of Virtue still remain'd her own.

The anarchy resulting from the total discomposing of the kingdom and the captivity of the King, occasioned every where the most sanguinary scenes. The King's ministers persuaded him that if he adopted some decisive measure with the National Assembly, it might be the means of tranquillizing the public mind at home, and of removing the dissatisfaction of foreign courts, who began to complain loudly of the detention of the Royal Family. The King was disposed to comply with whatever his ministers advised, from a conviction that if by that means he should only save the life of one subject, his conscience would approve his conduct, and that posterity would render him justice for his motives.

The King accordingly repaired to the National Assembly on the 4th of February, accompanied by his ministers and several officers of his household, but without any military escort. An elbow-chair had been prepared for His Majesty to the right of the President's, but on the same elevation. M. Bureau de Pusy presided on that day. After continued applauses, the King standing up addressed the assembly. He began by calling to their attention the alarming situation of the kingdom, and his endeavours to appease the intestine broils, and restore harmony to its foreign relations. "It is time," said His Majesty, "that "I should associate myself more intimately, and "in a manner more clear and manifest, in the ex-"ecution and success of the measures you have "concerted for the advantage of the kingdom." He briefly stated what he had done ten years since for the establishment of an order of things more favourable to the national liberty, by the formation of provincial assemblies. He pledged himself to give his countenance and support to the new organization, on which the public happiness was to depend. He recommended to all those whose recent losses and unexpected privations might arm against an order of things, now become the only safety of the state, to obliterate every painful remembrance, and concluded by this moving phrase: "You, Gentlemen, who

" have so many opportunities to influence the " public opinion, shew their true interests to " that people who are so dear to me, and by " whom, those who wish to soothe the anxieties " of my mind, tell me that I am beloved." On these words, acclamations and applauses burst forth from every part of the hall. I was present at this sitting, in the tribune opposite to the elbow-chair of the King. Amidst those marks of public sensibility, I shall never forget having seen the deputy Barrère melting into tears, and saying aloud: " Oh! what a good King! we must raise " for him a throne of gold and diamonds."

The King having promised to maintain the constitution, it was immediately decreed that no one should be allowed to hold any public office without taking the civil oath thus expressed: I *swear to be faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King, and to maintain, with all my power, the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the King.* Then began the long comedy of the taking of oaths, which has since been so often renewed and violated, and which does not yet seem to be at an end. All the members of the National Assembly, in succession, took that oath, with the exception of the Viscount de Mirabeau, and three other members of the order

of the Nobility, M. M. de Chailloué, de Boinvelle and de Belbeuf; and M. Bergasse, a deputy of the Tiers-Etat. It was at the conclusion of this sitting that the Viscount de Mirabeau broke his sword across his knees, in the corridors of the hall, making use of these remarkable words: *When the King breaks his sceptre, his servants must break their swords**. As he reproached the Abbé Maury with having made his declaration as well as the others, that deputy, who did not think that a promise extorted by violence affected the conscience of the person who promised, and that it was not right from a contrary opinion to renounce the possibility of promoting the public welfare or averting an evil, replied by quoting this verse of a tragedy:

The perjury is a virtue if the oath was a crime.

The application did not fail of its effect; for the four members of the Nobility above-mentioned

* The Viscount de Mirabeau was in direct opposition to his brother the Count. As much as the one was factious, in the same degree was the latter a decided, and even, a violent royalist. The Assembly at that time offered several examples of brothers sitting on opposite sides of the Assembly; amongst others, the Viscount and Count de Beauharnois. It was at that time justly observed: "that a country where so many "*brothers* were *enemies*, could not fail soon to become a "Thebais."

resumed their attendance in the National Assembly, Bergasse alone obstinately continuing to oppose his opinion to that of the whole assembly. He published his motives in a letter to the President which occasioned a considerable sensation.* In

* "I do not consider," said M. Bergasse, "the constitution which the assembly imposes upon France, to be a free constitution. The essential feature of a free Constitution, monarchical or republican, is the distinction and reciprocal independence of the three powers which every constitution ought to possess; the legislative, executive, and judiciary power. And I will demonstrate at a proper time, and when I shall be able to do it with some hope of success, that that which we are now ordered to maintain, only exhibits a monstrous confusion of powers, thereby laying the foundation for another kind of servitude, a thousand times more intolerable than that from which we have just escaped. Now, I will ask, if there exists any authority upon earth, which can lawfully compel me to swear to maintain, with all my power, a constitution which I think incompatible with my liberty?

Secondly, I do not think that your labours to regenerate France, do form a Constitution: I only know two kinds of Constitution; a Republican Constitution, and a Monarchical Constitution; every other, decorate them as you please, can only be despotism or anarchy: and, assuredly, you have not made a Monarchical Constitution, for it is the principle of a Monarchical Constitution, that the prince should be so far an integrant part of it, that it cannot go on without him; whereas in your constitution the prince is essential to nothing; and, as you act with candour, you will certainly not disallow, that if to-morrow it should please you to expunge him from it, affairs, arranged as they are, according to your own imaginations,

his speech, Lewis the XVIth spoke of the young Dauphin in the following manner: "I will pre-

would not be impeded by it, and might, perhaps, go on better: it is equally true that you have not made a Republican Constitution, for it is the principle of a Republican Constitution, that the supreme power, from which all the other powers emanate, should not be so concentrated in one body, as to be able to set them in motion and to apply them at their pleasure, with impunity: and you cannot deny that you have so exclusively concentrated all the supreme powers in your Legislative Assembly, that howsoever it may act, whether to the public benefit or detriment, it is impossible to oppose to it a political resistance, or to occasionally moderate or elude its efforts. Now, if in the Constitution which you offer to me, I perceive neither a republic, nor a monarchy, how would you have me act, and why pretend to constrain me to swear to maintain a thing which I cannot even define?

Thirdly, your constitution is not finished—you have not yet examined the whole—you do not know if its different component parts will unite—and unless you declare yourselves infallible (an absurdity I cannot suppose) you cannot say that experience and reflection, before the end of the session, will not discover defects in your work, which the heat of debate, and elation with your success, have not allowed you hitherto to remark. Now, by an indiscreet oath, why do you endeavour to deprive yourselves of the faculty of recurring to your ideas, less imperfect, or more useful? And why again do you wish that I should take that indiscreet oath, I who think, and not without reason, that error is the characteristic feature of all human efforts, and that, do what we will, we should leave a corner for repentance?

Fourthly, I cannot take the oath you require, and which

"pare," said he, "betimes, the mind of my son "to the new order of things which circumstances

no doubt you will soon require to be taken by all France, without essentially trenching upon the rights of the next Legislatures; for, until the nation, in free deliberations, and after a mature and careful examination, shall have themselves determined upon their constitution, every legislature has the incontrovertible right to revise, improve, and reform it: and how will they exercise that right, if we deprive them of it before-hand, if we swear, and require it to be sworn, to maintain, unalterably, a work which it is necessary, unceasingly, to correct and perfect?

Fifthly, I not only consider your oath subversive of the rights of the legislatures,—but of the imprescriptible rights of the nation. And I am bold enough here to declare to you, that the King and the Assembly since the commencement of the work of the constitution, have both exceeded their powers. We are only, as I have said on another occasion, a National Convention; that is to say, an assembly of men instructed to propose a constitution to the nation, and not to impose one on it. It afterwards belonged to the nation, assembled by bailiwicks or provinces, or in any other mode, provided it was legal, to judge of that constitution; to decree that it was conformable to their wishes, and finally to solicit the King, by new deputies, to confer upon it his sanction. Such is the political progress of the regeneration of states, from which we have not only deviated, but we labour to deprive the nation for ever of its essential right not to suffer any material innovations in the constitution, on which it has not maturely deliberated: for if we make every individual, of which it is composed, swear, that he will maintain with all his power the work of our hands; if this work should after-

" have given rise to; I will accustom him, from " his tender years, to consider the happiness of " the French as his own; I will accustom him to

wards prove prejudicial to the general interest, how will they set about to rectify it? They will then be under the necessity of departing from their oath, and thus will they be placed between a perjury at which they must startle, if they are conscientious, and the suggestions of their judgment, if they are wise.

. . . . . .

One more reflection, Sir: who are we to prescribe to all France such an oath as the Assembly proposes to me? How shall we dare to say to the people, "swear to observe what " thou dost not understand, what thou hast not examined, " and what we have almost forbidden thee to examine;" and if by perfidious manœuvres, the people are at length deceived and persuaded to swear the observance of what it has not deliberated upon; will you not blush to propose a similar oath to that class of society which combines good morals with an enlightened understanding; to all those men who have not renounced thinking for themselves! What will here ensue? Either, Sir, these men, as upright as they are well informed, will wish to deliberate before they commit their consciences,—or, frightened by the clamours of the people who will have been shamefully deceived, they will not dare to deliberate. If they do wish to deliberate, and the people are so far corrupted as not to suffer any delay, to what danger do you not expose them! if on the contrary they do not deliberate; if, influenced by fear, they swear against their conscience, how can we have forgotten that he who swears contrary to his conscience, commits a crime, and that he who requires the oath, commits a still greater one?

" acknowledge, notwithstanding the language
" of flatterers, that a wise constitution will pre-
" serve him from the dangers of inexperience,
" and that liberty enhances the value of the sen-
" timents of love and fidelity, of which France,
" for so many ages, has given to its Kings so many
" affecting proofs."

A deputation had been appointed to present an address of thanks to the King. They hastened back to the Assembly to relate in the same sitting what had occurred. " We met," said M. Target, " the Royal Family, who were coming to meet
" His Majesty: The Queen addressed to us
" these inestimable words: " I partake all the
" sentiments of the King, and heartily applaud
" the measure which his love for his people has
" suggested to him. Here is my son; I will not
" cease to dwell on the virtues of the best of
" fathers, and to learn him from his infancy to
" respect the public liberty, and to maintain
" the laws, of which I hope he will be the firmest
" supporter."

Such speeches and such conduct would have softened the hearts of savages. It might have been expected that after that sitting the National Assembly would have been solicitous to bestow

upon the King every mark of respect and love, or at least of deference. That, on the contrary, was the moment which they chose to order the publication of the *Livre Rouge*, or *Secret Expences*, with a view of insulting the Monarch, and rendering his crown odious to the people.—But they carefully omitted to make the nation acquainted with the motives of the benefits conferred, and to point out those which had been granted in reward of services, for the relief of indigence, for birth, favour, or gratitude. They only wished to excite discontent and clamour. It occasioned, however, no small surprize, on seeing the names of the two brothers Lameths, two of the principal demagogues of the Assembly, set down in that same *Livre Rouge* for 60,000 livres, a sum Maria-Antoinetta had devoted to their education. These gentlemen, weighing their sentiments like gold, thought themselves absolved from every tie of gratitude towards the Queen, by borrowing the amount of M. Laborde, and paying it into the Royal treasury.

The list of state pensioners, the publication of which lasted six months, was printed and distributed successively. The Duke de Polignac appeared in it for 80,000 livres. The debates, in which he was shamefully spoken of, obliged him

to publish at Venice a memorial in his justification, and in which he proved, that all the favours, salaries, and places which he enjoyed, to enable him to support at the court the rank of first equerry to the Queen, and Mad. de Polignac that of governess of the Royal Children, amounted to 292,000 livres; of which even a part had been granted to him as an indemnity for the injury their private fortune had sustained in keeping up their rank at Court, before they had obtained the places and pensions with which they were reproached with such malicious inveteracy.*

About this time Joseph II. died. The attachment which the Queen bore to her brother,

* Statement of the income of the Duke and Duchess of Polignac at the time of their highest favour.

	Liv.
Place of First Equerry to the Queen, horses, state liveries, and salaries	80,000
Governess of the Royal Children	50,000
The Domain of Fenestranges	70,000
Pension from the Royal Treasury	80,000
Superintendant of the Stud	12,000
	292,000

It is to be observed that these marks of favour had been only granted to the House of Polignac, from 1782 to 1786, prior to which they had mortgaged their estates to the amount of 800,000 livres.

had been denounced as a crime; and she was obliged in secret to indulge the grief, which the loss of a relation she so much loved, must naturally inspire.

The anniversary of the 14th of July, the day of the taking of the Bastile, had been fixed by a decree of the 27th of May, for a general federation of all the French; and the National Guards of all the kingdom, and every corps of the army, had been ordered to attend this civic fête by deputations.

The Duke of Orleans chose this period to return from England without the King's permission, though he had only gone to that country by an order from His Majesty.

He made the Federation a pretext for his returning to France; his duty, said he, as a member of the National Assembly, requiring his presence. Before he left London, he addressed to his Chancellor, M. de Latouche, likewise a member of the Assembly, a memoir, which he ordered him to read in the tribune, stating,—that his residence in England was no longer useful for the service of the King, and that he could not comply with the observations made by an aide-

de-camp, sent by M. de la Fayette, signifying to him that the motives which had rendered his journey necessary still existed, and that his presence in France would serve as a pretext to the disaffected to stir up the most dangerous commotions. After this letter had been read, M. de la Fayette repeated what his aide-de-camp had said on his part to the Duke of Orleans.

The Assembly, who had no purpose to answer in keeping the Duke of Orleans absent, passed to the order of the day. The Prince arrived; and the National Assembly and all France soon became more agitated than ever. The revolutionary party itself divided, and formed two new parties; which, though they were only separated by some slight shades of opinion, were afterwards more inveterate against each other than against the partizans of the old order of things.

I saw the Duke of Orleans at the Thuilleries the first day he appeared at Court after his return from London. In his first interview with the King, His Majesty addressed to him these words, which prove so well the goodness of his heart:—"Come, Sir, come and learn to be a good "Frenchman."

Indeed, Louis XVI. rightly judged. If ever there was an opportunity to convince himself that the great body of the nation, far from being factious, was composed of good Frenchmen, it was at this national fête of the Federation. All who were deputed to it, on their arrival from the Provinces, requested to be presented to the King; and, having witnessed the virtues of that Monarch and his august consort, they outvied each other in bestowing upon them a just tribute of admiration. M. de la Fayette, who was accused of having been the adviser of that Fête, in order to get himself elected Generalissimo of all the National Guards of the kingdom, frequently conducted deputations of those Federates, to present them to the King and Queen. M. Delaunay d'Angers, a chief of the federates of Anjou, availed himself of the occasion, to address to that Princess a very flattering compliment, which he forgot when he became a member of the convention, and was one of her most relentless persecutors. I was present at the Federation; a descriptio of which I need not give, as it is every where to be met with. I saw five hundred thousand persons assembled in a noble circus, raise up their hands at the same instant, to swear to be faithful to the Law and to the King. The weather was dreadful; but the more the rain fell in

torrents, the more the joy of the multitude and the spirits of the dancers seemed to increase.

The day at length became fine, and the religious ceremony was performed with order and tranquillity; the Bishop of Autun celebrating the holy mysteries. The King advanced with a majestic pace towards the altar of the country, amidst the acclamations of "Long live the King." The Duke of Orleans, who was in the circle of the deputies, must have remarked by the silence around him, as well as during the procession of the Assembly from the Thuilleries to the Champ de Mars, that he was not popular on that day.—The preceding Sunday, on his appearance at the Palace in the apartments leading to those of Their Majesties, unequivocal proofs had been given to him that his presence was not desired.

The Committee of enquiry of the Municipality, in conjunction with that of the Assembly (composed entirely of patriots and partisans of the Revolution), having denounced the perpetrators of the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, the Assembly had for six months instigated the Châtelet, to take cognizance of the crimes which had been committed, and to try and punish the guilty. The trials were still continued when the Duke of Orleans returned

to Paris. It was during this interval that the deputation of the Châtelet came to the Thuilleries to receive from the Queen such information as she might be able to communicate concerning the events of those days, when Her Majesty made to them this generous reply:—" *I will never be* " *an informer against any of my subjects. I saw* " *every thing, knew every thing, and have forgotten* " *every thing.*" Of all the answers we read of in antiquity, none scarcely equals this in generosity and magnanimity.

The Châtelet, thinking they had obtained a sufficient body of evidence to proceed against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans, sent one of their members to the Assembly to make their report; a recent law requiring that no Deputy could be brought to trial without an express decree. The emphatic tone with which M. Boucher d'Argis, the reporter of the Châtelet, commenced his report, by a line from a tragedy—" *The horrid* " *secret is at length divulged*"—drew upon him the displeasure of the Assembly and the tribunes. The report and the evidence having been printed, the Assembly were of opinion, that proofs only of a plan to declare the Duke Regent of the kingdom, had been substantiated: but that the connection of that plan with the irruption of the

brigands on the morning of the 6th of October, and the massacre of the Life Guards, did not appear sufficiently proved, to impeach those deputies. Mirabeau, as may be supposed, did not fail to observe, that it was not the crimes of the 6th of October they wished to try, but those of the Revolution; that it was their object to keep up a spirit of hatred and revenge; to fill the kingdom with suspicions and alarms by representing the Revolution as connected with every sort of crime; and to inspire all Europe with a profound horror for a revolution, which might, on a future day, cause that of all the world.

The majority of the National Assembly, frightened by the bare mention of "trying the Revolution," hastily concluded the debates on those proceedings, by declaring that there was no cause of accusation against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans; and the revolutionary party did not afterwards forget the part which M. Boucher d'Argis had acted in the business, who fell an early victim under the axe of terror.

Thus ended the proceedings of the Châtelet, instigated by men, who themselves were of the party, called the party of the Palais Royal, and connected with the same men who had instigated

the populace to march from Paris to Versailles, who had bribed the regiment of Flanders, and insulted the Life-Guards; and who have since boasted of it as so many acts of patriotism. The Châtelet, unwilling to promote their views, were held up as an infamous tribunal devoted to the Aristocracy, accused of having wished "to try the cause of the "Revolution," ordered to remain silent, and were finally abolished. But the majority of the Assembly only consigned those crimes to oblivion, from motives of interest or fear; whereas Maria-Antoinetta had the glory of having forgotten them from greatness of mind.

That majority indeed could but defend the revolution, and the crimes to which it gave birth. To these piratical legislators the Revolution was an invaluable prize: from great estates, down to the most subordinate employments, every thing was going to be divided, of which each expected a share proportionate to the fury with which he defended it from all the attacks of its enemies. Already had the words *equality* and *rights of man*, been given up to a few philosophical fanatics;—for the true revolutionary party had commenced their system of pillage.

The property of the clergy having once been

declared National, it was necessary immediately to devise the means of selling them, in order to share their value. But, as the sale of them would naturally be a work of some time, they obviated the inconvenience of delay, by creating a paper currency with a forced circulation; the repayment of which was mortgaged on the sale of the property, called *National.* Those men, who were to eclipse the Colberts and the Sullys, could produce no better plan to remedy the disorder of the finances than by issuing four hundred millions of Assignats. It was in vain urged to them from every quarter, that it was renewing the system which had nearly ruined France at the beginning of the century; that specie would disappear, and that the exchange on foreign countries would suffer materially; that the paper currency, once set in circulation instead of specie, could not afterwards be stopt; that one issue of Assignats would lead to another, and that such a system would infallibly occasion continual bankruptcies, and ultimately prove a general calamity; —all those who opposed, in the slightest degree, the will of one side of the Assembly, were represented as enemies of the state. The same Mirabeau, who, in the first sittings of the Assembly, had said, that an issue of notes, small loans, and moderate anticipations of the public revenue,

were so many taxes levied sword in hand, now boldly declared on the subject of this new paper currency, " that wherever there was an Assignat " would be found a friend to the revolution."— With much more truth might he have said, that wherever there was an Assignat, the friends of the revolution would greedily seek for it. In fact, soon after the issue of this revolutionary paper, a shower of gold seemed to fall on that man, to whose cupidity all parties seemed to administer. They did not even give him the trouble to prepare his motions and harangues; they gave them to him already written, and he had only to read them at the tribune. The Jews, the Court of Spain, the stock-jobbers, and, indeed the Court of France itself, all bought the eloquence and the influence of Mirabeau, and paid very dear for them.

I now saw that man, who, before the revolution, was loaded with debts, purchase a fine hotel in one of the most fashionable parts of Paris, furnish it splendidly, and add to it the valuable library of the Count de Buffon, and indulge in the most extravagant expenses, without giving umbrage to any of the hypocritical puritans of the Revolution. " He is a great robber," said the common people, " but he has great " merits!"

The confiscation of the property of the clergy was soon followed by the unqualified suppression of the honorary titles of the Nobility, and shortly afterwards, by the confiscation of their property. M. Necker endeavoured, in vain, to raise his voice against that suppression, which was decred in a nocturnal revel; the King was obliged to sanction it, and to sign, with his royal hand, that he was no longer noble!

Such of the members of the National Assembly as were thus destroying the most illustrious order of the State, were conscious that a great country cannot exist without Nobility: but they foresaw that, sooner or later, they should themselves replace the ancient families they were annihilating; that a new era would date from the revolution; and that, forming among themselves a confraternity of criminals, they should, at no distant period, compose the new peerage of France: and the event has answered their expectations.

While the National Assembly were thus suppressing the peerage and nobility of France, the soldiers, acting on the same principle, every where revolted against their officers. The rebellion which broke out in the town of Nancy,

wore a most alarming aspect. Three regiments having mutinied at the same time, the King's own regiment, the Swiss regiment of Châteauvieux, and the regiment of cavalry of Mestre-de-Camp; the King, in the name of the law, ordered the Marquis of Bouillé to march with 8,000 men, composed of the troops of the line, and the National Guard of Metz, to quell the revolt. The gates of Nancy were guarded by the regiment of Châteauvieux, who had the audacity to fire a discharge of musketry at the King's troops, which was returned by a still more terrible discharge by the little army of M. de Bouillé, who rushed upon the soldiers of Châteauveux, and forced them to fall back. It was on this occasion, that a young Breton officer, named Desilles, wishing to prevent the effusion of blood and restore subordination, was seen to throw himself before the mouth of a cannon on the point of being fired by the factious, and fall a victim to his zeal and loyalty. Those rebellious soldiers were afterwards carried about in triumph, and the whole family of the brave Desilles perished on the scaffold!

M. Necker made a slight effort to ward off the blow which was aimed at the Monarchy and the Monarch by the publication of *le livre rouge*, by

writing a pamphlet, in which he demonstrated the impropriety and futility of such a publicity: but all his attempts only tending to convince him of his want of power, undeceived in the opinion he had entertained of his influence, and overwhelmed with shame and grief, he resolved to quit the theatre of the revolution. He disappeared quietly, having previously written to the National Assembly that they had at their disposal the sum of two millions of livres, which he had formerly deposited in the Royal treasury, as a security for his probity and disinterestedness; of which he requested that four hundred thousand livres should be returned to him for the arrangement of his affairs. The National Assembly did not hesitate to comply with his request, and considered themselves happy in being for ever rid of the lectures with which that morose and inconsistent minister occasionally importuned them, *with respect*. M. Necker, by thus leaving a booty to plunder after his departure, signified to the brigands of the revolution that he was not unacquainted with their views. Thus, in certain countries, we see travellers, before they set out, make up a purse for highway robbers. M. Necker, to ensure his emigration, threw his purse to the outrageous patriots, and departed unmolested, without being mentioned even as the news of the day.

To return to Mirabeau.—The Count de la March, and the Count de Montmorin, completed the purchase of this popular hero for the Court. The Queen had a great share in this important negociation. Convinced that virtuous men did not possess the power to re-establish the Monarchy, under existing circumstances, she wisely judged, that the same miscreants, whose talents and daring enterprise had been able to do an evil, could alone know the means to remedy it, and might, perhaps, have the ability. She, therefore, prevailed upon the King to receive, and well recompence, the assistance of Mirabeau; from which the happiest results might have been expected, when the unlooked-for death of that celebrated orator, three months afterwards, destroyed all the hopes he had inspired. He had already braved the popular fury by supporting the principles of the Monarchy, on the discussion of the right of making peace or war. He had already seen, on the Terrace des Feuillans, the rope with which it was intended to hang him on a tree in the Thuilleries, if he did not vote for giving that right to the people; and the threat had not prevented him from voting against it, after using this memorable phrase:—"That he "knew there was but one step from the Capitol "to the Tarpeian Rock." On another occasion,

pointing at the great revolutionary faction seated on the upper benches of the left side of the Assembly, indifferently called the Palais-Royal, Hell, and the Mountain; in a debate which a phrase of the President had given rise to, in which it was asserted that he made a distinction between the constitutional oath and that sworn to the King, he was bold enough to declare: — "That he would combat every "kind of faction who should endeavour to attack "the principles of the constitution, whatever "may be their system, and in whatever part of "the kingdom they should dare to shew themselves.*" He strongly advised the King to leave Paris, a measure for which he had formed several plans, and guaranteed their success. But, whether his constitution, undermined by his numberless debauches, could not support the intemperances in which his recent fortune enabled him to indulge, or, whether the faction he had denounced were fearful that he would reunite the fragments of the crown, which they had broken,

* Mirabeau had always held the talents of the Members of the National Assembly very cheap. Happening one day to be at a bookseller's with a friend, who was railing at another person, telling him that he was as stupid as the National Assembly of that morning; Mirabeau answered, in the presence of a great many persons:—"Of this morning! And why a date?"

and that, in consequence, his dissolution was hastened by poison, as Dr. Cabanis, his physician, publicly declared;—he died soon after he had commenced his work for the restoration of the monarchical power. His funeral pomp afforded the most singular spectacle of the revolution. It was less distinguished by the theatres having been shut, by order, and the magnificence of the procession which accompanied his remains to the Pantheon, than by the union of all parties who walked promiscuously in it; all equally regretting him, some for the services he had rendered to the revolution, and others for the good they expected from him. It seemed as if the anarchy which the grovelling passions of his successors were likely to cause, was foreseen by all, and that the want of a strong mind and powerful hand which might have been able to prevent it, was then generally felt. A few weeks zeal and loyalty effaced the manifold irregularities of forty-six years, the same as a moment's calm makes us forget the most dreadful tempest; such is the force of fidelity, and the influence of true principles. Death fortunately contributed to the glory of Mirabeau. The time had arrived, when he was going to oppose his popularity and his energy to the torrent which he himself had spread over all France. It is doubtful whether he would have had force enough to check its

progress;—but it was sufficient to have undertaken it.

As I shall not again have occasion to speak of this celebrated factious orator in the course of these memoirs, I may be allowed, in a few lines, to recapitulate his life, and to offer up my vows that the Sovereigns of Europe may never have to punish, nor recompence, similar personages.

Mirabeau was one of those men who, for the instruction of governments and the repose of nations, cannot be too well understood. A kind of monstrous being, justly denominated the *evil principle.* Formidable, by uniting the most fertile and active mind to the most perverse heart and ungovernable constitution; his judgment shewing him what was right, yet incapable of pursuing it from interest; manifesting, from his early youth, a taste and talent for what was vicious, in its most horrible perfection; rebellious to the laws of society, as well as to those of nature, a blasphemer against whatever was holy, and a calumniator of all that was great; thirsting for the disorders of the state as a means of indulging his own debaucheries, and sticking at nothing to gratify the most criminal or the basest of his passions. After a disgraceful youth, and frequent

confinement, he cherished the most inveterate hatred against the sovereign authority, but which, from his various imprisonments, had only to reproach themselves with having allowed a culprit to escape from the vengeance of the laws. Ambition, pride, and above all, cupidity, and sometimes the desperate expedients which hunger prompted, were so many incentives to his resentments. After having occasionally exercised in France and foreign countries, a cynical *espionage*, and spread over them his calumnies, venal and gratuitous; vain of a few pamphlets which would have disgraced any other man; a mercenary writer before he was a seditious orator; he was strongly bent on becoming a statesman of any country, the preceptor of sovereigns, and the defender of their subjects. Driven from Berlin, after his letter to the King of Prussia, and obliged to conceal himself in Paris, after his letter to the King of France and the first Notables; enraged at seeing that those even who employed his pen shunned him as an individual; that his precepts and his menaces, his adulations and his insults, were received with the same contempt, and that his writing for and against the same questions and the same persons availed him nothing; he had promised himself, on the approaching convocation of the States General, to conquer in it, by

open force, a seat in the Administration, as is sometimes practised by the Opposition in the British Parliament, infamously calculating, that, by bringing his country to the brink of ruin, he should be called upon to save it.

A time was to arrive when the public opinion should unite in thinking that the author of the evil could alone supply the remedy; while he continued to inflict fresh wounds on his country, until he was implored to spare it, and could set his own price upon his forbearance.

It was Mirabeau's misfortune, before he came over to the Court, to have been one of the most ardent promoters of the disorganization of the French clergy, and of the new civil constitution, which had been devised to compel the ancient ministers of worship to retire, and yield their places to a new set of ecclesiastical intruders. He had explicitly declared on the subject, that it was necessary to *decatholicise* France. But, when he saw the vicars follow the example of their bishops, and, like them, refuse to take the oath imposed upon all, he publicly foretold the misfortunes likely to result from it. The mischief however was already done; Gorsas and the Marquis of St. Huruge had burnt the effigy of the Pope,

in the Palais Royal, with impunity; the Monks deserted their Convents; and the populace, set on by the most brutal incendiaries, dragged from their cloisters the Nuns who practised the most austere mortifications, and even those who devoted their lives to the care of the sick; the National Guard always arriving too late to prevent those disgraceful scenes.

Mesdames Adelaide et Victoire de France, who had for a long time given themselves up to the duties of piety and religion, seeing the unexampled outrages daily committed by those bands of fanatics, who neither respected the weakness of the sex, nor the age and virtues of their victims; trembling for their own safety, and dreading to see those pastors torn from them, with whom alone they could pray for the preservation of the Throne and that of the Royal Family, asked and obtained permission from the King, their nephew, to quit the kingdom, and to seek out of it a safe asylum. They took leave of the Court, carrying with them the regrets of all who composed it, and set off for Rome. Their benevolence, and every virtue which adorns the sex, was remembered by all, and more especially the filial care with which, at the risk of their own lives, they had attended the King, their father, in his

last moments. The separation deeply affected the tender and affectionate heart of Maria-Antoinetta:—She shared the love and respect which Louis XVI bore towards those virtuous and beneficent Princesses, who, a few years after, wandering and proscribed, obliged to fly from the extremity of the kingdom of Naples, and exposed in an open boat to the mercy of the waves and the Barbary cruisers, deemed themselves fortunate in being taken up at sea by the flag-ship of a Turkish squadron going to attack the island of Corfu.

The Court had now no other supporters and protectors than M. de la Fayette and the National Guard. But the zeal of those gentlemen was so lukewarm, and their views so selfish, that they could not inspire the friends of the King with much confidence. Many of the latter, who, at the beginning of 1790, had formed themselves into a club called the *French Saloon*, were so molested and insulted by the populace and the National Guard, notwithstanding their boasted principles of liberty, that they were obliged to separate, after having been beset in the place which they had chosen to read the public papers. Another club, formed by the deputies of the intermedial party of the Assembly, who were called the

impartials, the *independents*, or the *monarchists*, of which M. de Clermont Tonnere was the president, was likewise denounced, attacked, and dissolved by the Jacobins, who shewed more hatred against that club than against the union of avowed Royalists, of whom I have just made mention, the members of which the National Guard also suffered to be driven with a shower of stones, from the place of their meeting.

When the chief of the National Guard had so little influence over his troops, it was natural that the friends of the King, the ancient servants of the Royal Family, and the loyalists who had fled to Paris to avoid the persecutions to which they were exposed in their Provinces, should feel alarmed for the safety of the Palace. They usually assembled there in such numbers, that it was likely to lead to some indiscretion. I shall, therefore, relate the circumstance which gave rise to the denomination of the Knights of the Dagger, which was given to those who attended the levees of the King.

The chevalier *De Court*, a country gentleman, near sixty years of age, having gone to the levee, very simply dressed, concealed under his coat a very small hanger, which he had always been

accustomed to wear in the same manner, instead of a sword; a man of the National Guard having observed the end of the hanger, arrested the Gentleman, under the pretext of its being a dagger; and, notwithstanding the mistake was immediately discovered, it gave occasion to the enemies of the Court to say that there existed a company of the Knights of the Dagger; such was the cause and origin of the following event.

In the month of February, 1791, secret rumours, daily tumults, and the language of the clubists, informed the friends of the King that the Jacobins were meditating some great blow, and were again endeavouring to raise the people. They complained publicly, that a great concourse of people, dressed in black, assembled at the Palace of the Thuilleries, not only on Thursdays and Sundays, which were levee days, but on the other days of the week. Their emissaries remarked, that if all those persons were on duty, the King had too many servants; and that if they were strangers, their meeting there in such great numbers, with so much punctuality, at the same hour and in the same dress, concealed some great project. By such means did they endeavour to disguise the dark designs they were themselves meditating.

We had, indeed, been informed of a conspiracy to carry off the person of the Queen, to separate her from the King, and confine her in the Luxemburg, and, afterwards to make the National Assembly, by the means of a popular insurrection, sanction so great an outrage, as they had been made to do those of the 5th of October. We had, therefore, taken care to station ourselves near the Royal Family, in order to prevent, as much as it might be in our power, this new atrocity. But the Jacobins, exasperated at the precautions we had taken to frustrate their intentions, resolved to disperse our rendezvous, and, with this view, circulated the report of which I have have spoken.

On the 28th of February, an innumerable multitude, collected by Santerre, the hero of the suburb of St. Antoine, having gone to Vincennes in the morning to destroy the castle, and M. de la Fayette having marched at the head of the National Guard to oppose them,* we waited in the Palace, where nearly two hundred of us had assembled, under the most painful anxiety

* We knew afterwards that the motive of this insurrection, directed by the Orleans' faction, was to put Santerre the brewer at the head of the National Guard, in the room of M. de la Fayette.

for the return of this double-factious assemblage, thinking that the conspiracy had at length burst out. At eight o'clock in the evening, the National Guards who received pay, returned from Vincennes, after having dispersed the assemblage, and arrested several of the rioters. As we saw them return to their posts to guard the Palace, we withdrew quietly. But no sooner did those who had been with the King come out of his apartments, than they were seized, searched, disarmed, beaten, and thrown down the staircase by the grenadiers of those very guards.

Some of the volunteer officers having seen several persons of the court ill-treated, were indignant at the brutality of the National Guards, and went immediately to inform the Duke of Brissac of it, formerly Governor of Paris, and Capitaine Colonel des Cent Suisses, and the Duke of Villequier, one of the four first gentlemen of the King's bed chamber, a loyal chevalier, who, as well as the Duke of Pienne, his son, has never ceased, from the commencement of the revolution, to give the most exemplary proofs of zeal and loyalty to his sovereigns. Those noblemen immediately made the King acquainted with what had passed, when, His Majesty, hastening from his apartment, said to those who were still in the

saloon of Nobles,—" That he was deeply affected
" by the sincere interest they took in the safety
" of his person, and most cordially thanked them
" for it; but that their presence was a cause of
" alarm to the National Guards, who would not
" suffer any other defenders to be about his
" person; and, as they seemed to fear that they
" had arms, with which they would even leave
" the Palace, he advised them to deposit them
" in it."

The King having retired, the Duke of Villequier, in the name of His Majesty, ordered the valet-de-chambre in waiting to empty two cupboards near the door of the apartment, in order to put the arms there. Things being so settled, every one withdrew, but not without being searched by the guards.

Towards eleven o'clock in the evening, a new troop of drunken soldiers of that same guard entered the apartments, obliged the King's valet-de-chambre to give them the arms which had just been delivered up, carried them all away, and sold them the next morning at a low price; and the Jacobin journals published, on the following day, that the Knights of the Dagger had been driven ignominiously from the Palace.

I was in the Palace at the time of this scandalous expedition. Having been able, from the shape of my pistols, to conceal them in my girt, I descended the little staircase of the Queen, with the Chevalier de St. Preuve, a captain of Dragoons, M. de Garville, exempt des gardes de la porte, and several other persons who took the same precaution.

We were stopped by twelve chasseurs of the National Guards, the officer advancing, and politely asking, if we had any arms? Having answered in the negative, he told us that he did not doubt it, but that his orders were to search us, and, without waiting for our answer, pretended to feel our pockets, and permitted us to pass along a double line of soldiers, who neither insulted us by their jests nor any injurious expressions.

A few days after this outrage had been committed in the Palace, the King fell dangerously ill. Some sympathysing hearts still remained.—The warm interest which the nation took in the health of the King was so generally expressed, that the National Assembly, who were far from disapproving any of the insults which the populace and the journals offered to that Prince, thought

themselves obliged to decree that a solemn *Te Deum* should be sung for the recovery of the King, at which they should assist in a body; and the Mayor of Paris and the President of the Assembly came to congratulate His Majesty on the occasion.

The cause of the King's illness proceeded as much from the excess of grief he felt from so many evils he could not prevent, as from the stagnation of humours engendered from the sedentary life he had lately led. That Prince, who had been all his life accustomed to violent exercises, which his constitution required, had, for six months past, only walked in the morning along the terrace of the garden to see his son, and from whom he was obliged to return at noon, as at that hour the gates of the Thuilleries were open to the Public. The young Prince passed all his forenoons with the Abbé Davault, his preceptor, for whom a small apartment had been fitted up, in that pavilion of the angles of the Thuilleries which terminated that terrace.

I cannot here refrain from mentioning a few particulars of this amiable child, whom destiny only presented to the world.

After that Prince had taken his lessons and finished his studies for the day, he cultivated a small garden, planted with flowers and vegetables, which had been laid out purposely for him in the Pavilion occupied by the Abbé Davault. He received there such of the faithful servants of the King, and of the friends of his preceptor, as the latter thought worthy of being presented to him; he would there discourse familiarly with them, and sometimes invite them to dine with him.—The Queen one day found at the table he was dining, a young countryman of the Abbé Davault, whom he strongly recommended to her as a good subject, and Her Majesty not only addressed him with the most winning affability, but set down his name and his profession, in order to procure his advancement. I frequently went to pay my court to that young and amiable Prince at his preceptor's, and saw him every day increase in grace and beauty. His countenance was most engaging, uniting the noble features of Louis XV. and the physiognomy of his virtuous Father, with the beautiful complexion of his august Mother. Skilful painters would have viewed it as an exquisite model for the blooming eye of early youth. Nor were the perfections of his mind less striking than those of his person. The vivacity and justness of his repartees were sur-

prising; every one was desirous to collect them; and his talent in judging by their features those who approached him, excited equal admiration. He was perfectly acquainted with his situation and that of his family, and shewed an astonishing reserve and discretion for a child of his age; he was grateful for the attachment manifested towards his august parents, and, educated as he was, in the bosom of adversity, if Providence had permitted him to ascend the throne of his ancestors, he would, doubtless, have proved a very great King.

During the illness of his father, he himself added to his evening prayer some verses from the opera of Peter the Great, which then had only been performed a few nights. Having heard them sung, he remembered and applied them, and during the time of the King's illness, did not fail, a single day, to repeat them.*

* These verses were set to a favourite air composed by Henry IV. *Charming Gabriel, &c.* and ended the opera of Peter the Great. It was a prayer to Heaven which Catherine made all her Court repeat for her illustrious consort, and finished with these lines:

"The prayer which now I make, O Heaven hear!
"Nor from his subjects take a King so dear."

The Physicians of the King having advised him, in his convalescent state, to take the country air, the Court made arrangements for passing the early part of the spring at St. Cloud. Their intentions were publicly known; but the faction who neglected no opportunity to alarm the people and keep up the general ferment, circulated a report that their removal from Paris was only a pretext to facilitate the emigration of the Royal Family. They were bold enough to say, that the recent illness of the King was likewise feigned as an excuse for the necessity of changing the air, and furnishing the Royal Family with an opportunity of flying with greater safety; that it was not for St. Cloud that their journey was intended, but to Metz, or some other fortified town; and that, under such doubtful appearances, it was necessary to oppose any removal of the Royal Family.*

* The journals of the day related—"That it was a scruple of the King which occasioned that event, by which his tranquillity was disturbed; that His Majesty after having sanctioned all the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy, wrote to the bishop of Clermont, considered as the most orthodox of all the prelates, to learn from him if that act of condescension on his part was contrary to his religious duties; and that the bishop had answered, that however pure the motives of that sanction might have been, still it was reprehensible in

The Jacobins who were informed by the subaltern officers of the kitchen and the stables, of the hour of the King's departure, collected a mob about the palace, on the morning of the 18th of April, and excited the National Guards to insult the persons on duty, and to prevent the Court from setting out.

The hour fixed for their departure having arrived, the Royal Family got into their carriages, but were not suffered to advance many paces in the courts of the palace. The rebels, posted, sword in hand, before the gate, prevented the first escort, the equerries and all their attendants, from passing through. A thousand cries were vociferated, such as: *Down with the valet! Away with the horses! They must not leave Paris before the Constitution is finished!*

the eyes of God, and therefore advised His Majesty to defer the Easter communion; and that it was in consequence of that decision that the King, whose actions were narrowly watched, fearing that he might expose himself to censure by not receiving the sacraments at Easter, wished to pass the Easter fortnight at St. Cloud?" I do not know on what grounds this story was related; but certain it is, that the 18th of April, the day that insurrection took place, was the Monday of Passion week, and that then every one in France was allowed to be of any religion he pleased, excepting the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion in which he was born.

In this situation, the King having observed one of his Maîtres-d'Hôtel at a distance from his carriage (M. Gengenot, Régisseur Général) called him to desire that he would order all the principal officers of his household to return, and all the establishment of the palace, who were then expecting the Court at St. Cloud.

The chiefs of the cabal always took care to intoxicate the grenadiers of the National Guard who received pay, when they wanted an insurrection. The latter seeing a man in a frock-coat speak to the King, insulted him within a pace or two of the King's carriage, tore his clothes, beat him, and at last dragged him to a corner of the palace-court in order to hang him, saying that he was an *aristocrat, and a spy, to whom the King had given counter-revolutionary orders.*

The Queen, whose compassionate mind felt for every individual attached to the Royal Household, and particularly for those who were the victims of their fidelity, observing this ill-treatment, cried out to the grenadiers from the coach-window; *spare that man, gentlemen, he is entitled to speak to the King and to take his orders, he is in our service.*

The Queen who thus addressed herself to the officers of the Burghers' Guard, to beseech them to succour the King's Maître-d'Hôtel, had at length the satisfaction to learn from them, that they had been able to save him, by procuring a retreat for him in one of the apartments of the palace.

The young Duke Amédée de Duras, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and M. Montdragon, the King's Maître-d'Hôtel, were both equally ill-treated by the grenadiers.

M. de la Fayette, always timid and too much influenced by circumstances, was satisfied with haranguing the mob in the Place du Carousel, without the palace-yards, and asking the King's orders to disperse them. He pretended to be desirous of protecting the King's departure, notwithstanding the unanimous resistance of the populace; but they were not to be intimidated by his menaces, reminding him that he was the first who had said—*that insurrection was the most sacred of duties.*

The King, after remaining more than an hour in that situation, alighted from his carriage, and

returned to the palace, deeply mortified by the new outrage he had just received.

He repaired to the Assembly, and complained of his journey to St. Cloud having been opposed, and declared, that, in order to refute the reports circulated in Europe, concerning the restraint in which he was said to be held, it was necessary that his journey should not be deferred, protesting at the same time his attachment to the constitution. He was much applauded; but the Assembly did not deliberate on the riot which had prevented His Majesty from setting out; the administration only of the department, composed of members of the Assembly, complained, in a proclamation, of the intemperate patriotism of the inhabitants of Paris, and declared to them that they had no right to oppose the will of the Monarch, and that it was particularly incumbent on the city of Paris to prove that the King was perfectly free.

Justly indignant at all the excesses which the faction hostile to the throne and the altar directed against whatever was respectable in the kingdom, and observing that the attacks against his person, his conscience, and his dignity, multiplied daily, the King at length resolved to endeavour by

a bold measure to withdraw himself from a thraldom so humiliating.

The abolition of the Parliaments followed that of the nobility; new bishops and vicars continued to be named by the faction, and those shameless beings publicly usurped the places of those virtuous prelates and pastors, who would not belie their conscience by taking an oath which it forbade; the Prince of Condé had just been declared by the National Assembly, a rebel, a traitor to his country, to have forfeited all right to the crown, his property confiscated, and all correspondence or communication with him and his adherents interdicted to every French citizen, on pain of being prosecuted; the Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Rouen, had been accused by a decree of having violated the new ecclesiastical laws; the magistrates of the Parliament of Toulouse had been imprisoned for having assembled after the dissolution of their court, and for having protested against the new laws and changes to which themselves had been instrumental; a kind of revolutionary tribunal, to be elected by the people, had just been instituted, and was to hold their sittings at Orleans, by the appellation of High National Court, in order to prosecute and try all oppositions to the new sys-

tem, indefinite offences which were denominated crimes of national treason; the colonies were in flames, and massacres, forerunners of those which have since carried off all the white inhabitants and proprietors of St. Domingo, had already begun to desolate that noble possession; officers, colonels, and generals were put to flight, or massacred by their soldiers,* excited by the factious members of the Jacobin club, and other popular societies; in fine, there only remained in France, of all its ancient institutions, a Monarch without authority, without liberty, and without even the means of making himself respected, or doing the smallest good.

During the last six months, several plans had been presented to the King to facilitate his escape from Paris. Mirabeau himself, some time before his death, had delivered one to M. de Montmorin, in which he advised the King to withdraw

* Amongst the number of superior officers massacred by their soldiers, the brave and loyal Count de Rully, colonel of the regiment of Maine, was particularly regretted. Being in garrison at Bastia at the commencement of the revolution, he was massacred in April, 1791, on the pretext of aristocracy, and having given orders to fire upon the people. The Corsican Jacobins, who dreaded his firmness, were the instigators of this measure.

suddenly to Compiègne or Fontainbleau; to assemble there some faithful troops, to enable him without danger to point out the defects of the constitution, and to make afterwards an appeal to the loyalty of the departments; Mirabeau answered to the Court for the majority of the National Assembly. M. le Comte de la Marck, to whom this plan was revealed, made, by the King's order, several journies to M. de Bouillé, to assure himself of the possibility of its execution. Louis XVI. had hitherto hesitated to have recourse to so dangerous an expedient; but, after the events of the 18th of April, he resolved upon it, convinced that even its failure would only hasten in a small degree the last misfortunes with which he was menaced; that its success, on the contrary, would restore to him the first of his prerogatives, liberty, and enable him by the influence of his authority, to re-establish the tranquillity of his kingdom. He directed himself all the preparations of the journey with an activity, prudence, and discretion, which gave the highest opinion of his judgment.

I now come to that tragical event, which, after an interval of twelve years, still excites the most lively emotions in the breasts of all who are devoted to the Royal Family of France; which

alternately inspires alarm and hope, fear and despair, according as we enter upon its different epochs; to the short but important interval of a few hours, when we see this august family commence their journey under the most happy auspices, escape the first perils, and hasten from the capital and the adjacent provinces as the most dangerous,—when we see persons so exalted and so beloved, and of such high destiny, advance towards the accomplishment of their wishes,—when the imagination endeavours to paint so many illustrious travellers anxiously looking towards that wished-for point, towards the fortress of Montmédy; whither, in seeking an asylum, they likewise sought to recover their dignity, their glory, and their throne;—when we see them so cruelly detained, so scandalously outraged, and brought back with the most profound anguish, amidst every blasphemous execration, to that dungeon whose gates shall no more be opened to them, but . . . . . .

I must, however, previously insert several pages which I could not transcribe without feeling the most painful emotions. At my most respectful solicitations they were confided to me by the only person, alas! who survived that fa-

tal journey. With what religious interest will so valuable a fragment be read, stamped with historical authenticity, and adorned with the candour and filial piety of the illustrious writer!

NARRATIVE

OF THE

JOURNEY OF VARENNES,

BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

MARIA THERESA CHARLOTTE OF FRANCE,

DUCHESS OF ANGOULEME.

During the whole of the day of the 20th of June, 1791, my father and mother appeared to be much occupied and extremely agitated, the cause of which I was entirely unacquainted with. After dinner they sent my brother and myself to another apartment, and remained alone with my aunt; and I have since learned that they then informed her of their

* This invaluable fragment was confided to me in 1796, on the arrival of Madame Royale at the Court of Vienna, from the prison of the Temple; Her Royal Highness was then seventeen years of age.

intention to fly from the capital. At five o'clock, my mother, accompanied by my brother and myself, Madame de Maillé, her lady of the Palace, and Madamé de Loney, sub-governess of my brother, walked to M. Boutin's, at Tivoli, at the end of the Chaussée d'Antin.

During our walk, my mother took me aside, and told me that what I should see must not make me uneasy, as we should not be long separated. My senses were bewildered, and I could conjecture nothing from the conversation of my mother, who embraced me, and enjoined me to say, if those ladies enquired the reason of my being so agitated, that she had scolded me, but that we were friends again. We returned to the Palace at seven o'clock, and, still unable to divine any thing that my mother had said, I retired, sad and dejected, to my own apartment.

I was quite alone, as my mother had desired Madame de Mackau to go to the Visitation, whither she frequently went, and she had sent to the country the young lady who

was generally about my person. I was scarcely in bed, when my mother came; she had previously directed me to feign indisposition, and dismiss all my attendants, one woman excepted. My mother finding us alone, told us that we must set out immediately, and instructed us how to proceed. She told Madame Brunger, the person who had continued with me, that she was desirous she should accompany us, but that, being a married woman, she might remain behind. Her immediate reply, and without hesitation, was, that my mother acted very properly in going off—that she had been unhappy for too long a time—and that for herself, she would instantly leave her husband to follow her wheresoever she might wish. My mother, who was much affected by this mark of her attachment, went down again to her own apartment, and wished good night to Monsieur and Madame, who, as was their custom, had come to sup with my father and mother. Monsieur, who was acquainted with the intended journey, on his return home went to bed, but got up immediately after, and set

off with M. d'Avaray, a young man who conducted him safely through all the perils of his rout, and who is still with him. As for Madame, she knew nothing of the journey; it was not until after she had retired to rest, that Madame Gourbillon, her reader, came to inform her that she was ordered by the Queen and Monsieur to carry her out of France.

Monsieur and Madame met at a stage where they were to change horses, but they purposely avoided making themselves known to each other, and they arrived safe at Brussels. My brother had likewise been awakened by my mother, and Madame de Tourzelle carried him to a small apartment over that of my mother. I descended the staircase with him, when we met a Life Guard named M. de Maldan, who was to expedite our departure. My mother came several times to see us, and my brother, who was dressed in girl's clothes, looked charmingly. Being overcome with sleep, he was ignorant of what was passing. Having asked him what he

thought we were going to do? He answered *that he supposed we were going to perform a comedy, as we were all disguised.* At half after ten, when we were all ready, my mother conducted us herself to the carriage in the middle of the court, *which was running a great risk.* Madame de Tourzelle, my brother, and myself, got into the carriage, of which M. de Fersen was the coachman. The better to avoid being traced, we drove for some time through several streets in Paris, and afterwards returned to the Petit Carousel, which is very near the Thuilleries, and there waited; my brother lying at the bottom of the carriage, concealed under the dress of Madame de Tourzelle. M. de la Fayette, who had been with my father the night before, passed us, and we continued waiting at least an hour, without knowing what was doing; never did the time appear so long to me.

Madame de Tourzelle travelled under the name of the Baroness de Korff; my mother was the governess of her children, and called herself Madame Rochet; my father, the

valet de chambre Durand; my aunt, a lady's companion, Rosalie; my brother and self, the two daughters of Madame de Korff, with the names of Amelia and Aglaï. At length, after an hour had elapsed, I saw a woman walking round the carriage, and was fearful of being discovered; but my alarms subsided on seeing the coachman open the door, and that it was my aunt, who had taken flight with only one attendant. In getting into the carriage she trod on my brother, who was at the bottom, and he had courage enough not to complain. She assured us that all was quiet, and that my father and mother would soon join us. Accordingly, my father soon arrived, and shortly after my mother, with the Life Guard who was to accompany us. We now set off, and reached the gates without interruption. Here we were to have found the travelling coach which was to conduct us, but M. de Fersen did not know where it was. We were obliged to wait there a considerable time, and my father even alighted, which caused us much uneasiness. M. de Fersen having found the other coach, at

length arrived; and after we had changed coaches, he took leave of my father, and departed with speed. The three Life Guards were Messrs. Maldan, Dumoutier and Valori. The latter served as courier, the others as domestics, one on horseback, and the other seated on the coach. Their names had likewise been changed: the first was called St. Jean, the second Melchori, and the other François. The two waiting women, who had set off before us in a small carriage, rejoined us at Bondi. We proceeded on our journey at the break of day, and nothing remarkable occurred during the morning; but, at ten leagues from Paris, we were met by a man on horseback, who did not lose sight of the carriage. At Etages, we thought we were discovered. At four o'clock, we passed through the large town of Châlons sur Marne; there, we were generally recognized, and numbers of people were rejoiced at seeing the King, and offered up their prayers for his safety. We were to have found, at the stage after Châlons, a detachment of cavalry, to escort the coach to Montmédy, but

on our arrival, not a soldier was to be seen. We remained there in the constant expectation of seeing them until eight o'clock, and afterwards continued our rout to Clermont. We there saw some troops; but all the village was in arms and would not suffer them to mount their horses. An officer who discovered my father, drew near the carriage and whispered to him *that he was betrayed.* We likewise saw there M. Charles de Damas, but he could render us no service. We continued our rout, the night being now very dark, and notwithstanding our extreme agitation and uneasiness, every one in the coach fell into a profound sleep. We were woke by a violent jolt, and were soon after informed that no tidings could be heard of the courier who rode before the coach. Our fears may be easily imagined, as we thought he had been discovered and taken. We were at length just entering the village of Varennes, which scarcely contains a hundred houses, where there are no post-horses, and whither it is usual for persons travelling that road to order them to be sent. We had taken the

same precaution, but they were at the Château on the other side of the river, and no one knew where to go and seek for them; and the postillions said that their horses were tired, and that they could go no farther. It was impossible to make them go on, when at length the courier returned, and brought with him a man whom he thought to be in the secret, but who, I believe, was a spy of M. de la Fayette. He came to the coach-door in his nightcap and robe de chambre, and, leaning over the window, said that he knew a secret, but would not divulge it. Madame de Tourzelle asked him if he knew Madame de Korff; he replied that he did not, and we could draw nothing from him. We succeeded at last in persuading the postillions that the horses were at the Château, and they set off, but at a very slow pace. No sooner had we arrived in the village than we heard outrageous cries round the coach; of stop! stop! The postillions were seized, and the coach was instantly surrounded with a crowd of armed men, with torches. They asked us

who we were? and we answered them: *Madame de Korff and her family.* They then placed lights immediately before my father, and ordered us to alight. We refused to comply, saying, that we were private travellers whose journey ought not to be impeded. They again ordered us to alight or that they would kill us; and all their muskets were in an instant pointed at the coach. We then alighted, and observed, as we crossed the street, six dragoons on horseback. Unfortunately there was no officer; as six resolute men would have been able to intimidate all that rabble, and to save the King.

Having related those afflicting events in the same language of truth and beautiful simplicity with which they were graciously communicated to me by the most amiable Princess in Europe, I shall now offer a more circumstantial delay of that same journey, the causes which gave rise to it, the circumstances attending it, and those by which it was succeeded. I am indebted to the Marquis of B * * *, a minister of Louis the XVI. in a foreign country, for my information, and which he himself received from an eminent Prelate, who, for two years, was honoured with the confidence of the King and Queen. Accustomed frequently to see Their Majesties in their domestic retirement, in 1791, and 1792, he was enabled to learn from them the particulars which he afterwards communicated from motives of friendship. I may confidently assert, that this historical narrative is much more entitled to belief than those which have hitherto been published; most of which, either from partiality, or personal motives, have been very materially misrepresented.

A Narrative written to a Member abroad, by a Prelate who was a Member of the Constitutional Assembly.

Infandum jubes renovare dolorem.

It was necessary for you to urge me so warmly to determine me to write what I know of the melancholy circumstances relative to the flight of the Royal Family to Varennes. There will, doubtless, be many accounts given of this event, as it is among those which had the greatest influence over the fate of the King, and of the Revolution. It is probable that these accounts will not accord with one another, either because of those persons who could be personally acquainted with all the circumstances, only Madame Royale, then very young, and Madame de Tourzelle are living; or because the other persons who had a part in it, were acquainted only with partial occurrences in the event, and are intrusted in some manner to represent the facts, even those best known to them, not exactly as they passed. It is not for me to say that I shall give you a narrative free from error, I can only assure you that I will faithfully and impartially relate what remains

engraved in my memory from the conversations I had with the Queen herself, and afterwards with the Marquis de Bouillé, and other persons who appeared to me well informed of the particulars of this event.

The King had constantly refused to leave Paris in the years 1789 and 1790, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of those most devoted to him, the clearness of the reasons which should have induced him to it, and the ease with which he might have effected it on several occasions, particularly during the stay he made at St. Cloud for a considerable time in the summer of 1790. I frequently conversed on the subject with the Queen, who constantly answered me that the King had made up his mind, and that it was useless to speak any more to him about it. When I persisted, she silenced me by saying: "What "could the King do at a distance from Paris, "without money, without troops, without means "in himself to recover the allegiance of the ar- "my, without sufficient skill to act from his "own judgment, and without a Council to sup- "ply the want of it; to which add his horror at "the very idea of civil war! Let us talk no "more of it."

I believe, in fact, that these reasons would have kept the King constantly near the Assembly, had it preserved those bounds of moderation, and that kind of respect for his person which seemed to influence the conduct of the majority during the summer of 1790; but the project, almost openly avowed, of seizing the executive power and of exercising it in its most minute business, the dismissal of the old ministers, to make way for revolutionary ones, and above all the atrocious persecution of Religion and of its faithful ministers, in which the King himself was made to appear as an accomplice, rendered his situation absolutely intolerable, and were, I believe, the real motives which, towards the end of the year 1790, created in him a desire of withdrawing from the ascendency which the Assembly had assumed over him. The Queen was the only person to whom he at first imparted his design. Whether from the reasons already mentioned, from a foreboding, or from a sagacity, of which I have observed in her astonishing instances, she foresaw the misfortunes that would happen, and far from endeavouring to confirm him in his design of flying, she would not even consider it seriously till he had repeatedly urged it, and till she was fully convinced that his resolution was unalterably taken.

In the state of things at that period, it was impossible to think of leaving Paris, otherwise than by stratagem. Force would have been useless and attended with the greatest danger, nor did address offer any means in which great difficulties were not to be encountered. Although the King had proclaimed himself free on all occasions, after he had been conveyed with 15,000 bayonets and 20 pieces of cannon, from Versailles to the Thuilleries; and although the Assembly were enraged whenever the slightest doubt of the King's liberty was expressed before them, it is not the less true that Louis XVI. and all his family were prisoners, and prisoners watched with the strictest vigilance. A guard was every day at twelve o'clock mounted at the Thuilleries, composed of six hundred National Guards taken from the sections of Paris. Two Guards on horseback were constantly before the principal outer gate. All the outer posts, that is to say the posts of the Palace and courts, were divided between the Swiss and National Guards. Two bodies of these troops were stationed at the *pont-tournant**, and sentinels at all the other posts of the garden of the Thuilleries. The terrace on the river side was

* The turning bridge over the moat at the bottom of the garden.

full of sentinels placed at about a hundred yards one from the other.

In the inside, the guards and sentinels were more numerous than the Gardes du Corps at Versailles: they were stationed in the very passages leading to the inner rooms belonging to the King and Queen, and even in a little dark gallery, at the top of the apartments, where there were private staircases for the use of Their Majesties. As the officers of the National Guard took the duty of the officers of the Gardes du Corps, neither the King nor the Queen could go out of their apartments without being followed by a certain number of them. Besides this strict and public watch, there was another whose vigilance it was no less difficult to elude, that of the men servants in the Palace, who were almost all spies. I know that the Queen was convinced that among her attendants she could depend only upon her principal waiting women, and but upon one or two of her footmen: and as for the King, I believe that his four principal valets de chambre were the only ones in which His Majesty could confide.

Before they began to concert a plan for escaping so many spies and guards, the King and

Queen turned their thoughts to a place for their retreat, and to means for providing a military force sufficient to secure them from the dangers of the outset. They cast their eyes on the Marquis de Bouillé, nor could they in those two points have chosen better. The Marquis possessed great reputation, military talents of the first rate, boldness accompanied with prudence, and the esteem of the troops. He was commander in chief at Metz, in Lorraine, and in Alsace. By resolutely keeping his command, he had there preserved a greater number of faithful troops than was to be found elsewhere; and he had recently encreased his glory, and the terror with which his name inspired the factious, by forcing with a handful of soldiers the revolted garrison of Nancy, to submit to an order from the King and the Assembly. He resided constantly at Metz, or in some place under his command, which he had never quitted from the beginning of the Revolution.

The King wrote him a letter to open his project, and to engage him to support it. In his answer he endeavoured to dissuade His Majesty from a resolution in which he was more struck with the dangers that would involve the King, than with the advantages that could arrive to

public affairs; but the King persisting with a firmness which appeared to him thoroughly considered and fixed, he applied himself with all the courage, boldness, and wisdom, which constituted the shining part of his character, to planning the means that depended upon him.

Montmedy was determined upon as the place of retreat; it is a very strong town situated on the borders of Champagne, the nearest of the frontiers to Paris, close upon the territories of the Emperor, and a very little way from Luxemburg, esteemed the strongest bulwark in Europe, whither it was easy to retreat in case of any miscarriage. Another advantage was the facility of receiving the succour of an Austrian army, if it were wanted. This being not only possible but probable, it was agreed to confide in the Emperor, and to engage him to send into the Province of Luxemburg, under pretence of the commotions in Flanders, an army of 25,000 men to be at the command of the King. Leopold, who the year before had ascended the throne of the Cæsars, promised all that could be hoped from his generosity: he arranged his plans with a secrecy worthy of his wisdom, and anxiously waited the event on which were to depend the safety of

his sister and his consort; the tranquillity of his own dominions, and the peace of Europe.

M. de Bouillé at first proposed the road through Flanders as the shortest and surest for going out of the kingdom, and returning to Montmedy. This plan was rejected, because the King would on no account leave the kingdom; and his reason was, that he would not incur the forfeiture of the crown enacted by a decree in that case. M. Bouillé then advised the road through Rheims, as having fewer towns to pass, and being easy to protect; but the King's person being too well known at Rheims, was an objection, and the road through Châlons, Clermont, and Varennes, was agreed upon. It was determined that M. de Bouillé should not come to Paris, in order to avoid all suspicion, and likewise that he might, by remaining where he commanded, be ready to make sure of every means, direct or indirect, of ensuring the success of the project. He undertook to attend to every thing from Châlons sur Marne, the first town in the district under his command on the way from Paris; and the Queen on her part undertook to prepare every thing for quitting the capital and proceeding as far as Châlons.

This was the situation of things at the end of the year 1790, and beginning of 1791, when the Queen partly opened her mind to me; for she did not at first tell me the whole of the project. One day as she was speaking to me with indignation of some new insult which the King had received from the Assembly or the Parisians, she told me that he could no longer endure it, and that he had resolved on leaving Paris, at the risk of whatever might happen. I could not refrain putting her in mind of the objections she had herself started to me the preceding summer, arising from the King's character, so little suited to such a bold step, now become much more dangerous. She replied in the following words: "the only point is to make the King move; that "once done, I will answer for his going on."

However determined the King was at the close of the year 1790, I have reason to think that in the course of the winter he wavered in the plan of flying. This was the epoch of Mirabeau's new connection with the court, and he now appeared to be in earnest. His glory, self-love, and above all his interest, were the motives by which he was entirely devoted to employ his great talents in repairing a part of the mischief done by him and the factions. As far as any judgment

could be formed of the dispositions of an Assembly so variable and tumultuous, he seemed latterly to have acquired a great ascendency over it. He had broken almost openly not only with that faction of the *Côté Gauche* which afterwards formed the Republican party; with M. de la Fayette, whom he had nick-named *Cromwell-Grandison*, and who was a spy upon him, and his opponent, in all the parts he played; but had quitted the Duports, Lameths, and Sieyes's, who at the time were only warm constitutionalists: he endeavoured to connect himself chiefly with the most moderate of the *Côté Droit*, and intended, without their perceiving it, to make use of the influence of their party in the execution of his plans. His first fundamental measure for the re-establishment of a reasonable order of things, was the King's liberty, which he promised should take place in the month of May or June, and he pretended that he had at the commencement of the winter, put in motion a complicated machine, the first effect of which would be to cause the sections of Paris to demand that the King should be at liberty to go to one of his country Palaces.

He was promised a hundred thousand crowns the day the King was at liberty to leave Paris;

and I have no doubt that the King by this chimerical hope, as long as he could preserve it, was diverted from the project of his flight, which was at length fixed and invariably determined by two unexpected events. The first was the death of Mirabeau in the beginning of April 1791, leaving no one behind him who could pursue his plans, or who even knew them otherwise than by what he said of them; and of course they were abandoned after an expense or rather waste of near six millions, which were divided by the St. Foix', Andres, Chapeliers, Dantons, &c. The other event was the King's being prevented by the Parisians and National Guards from going to pass the Passion-Week at St. Cloud. This insult, which was perhaps felt more than any other by the King, put an end to all hesitation on the project of flight, and from this time he thought only of the means of effecting it.

Shortly after, that is in the beginning of May, I received a letter from the Queen, who after writing on another subject, informed me; "that "in about six weeks events would happen "which might bring me into danger; she re- "quested me to think of insuring my safety, to "leave Paris, and even the kingdom, and de- "sired me to prevail also on the bishops in the

" Assembly to take the same step, as perhaps " they would be equally in danger." This letter removed all my doubt as to the project of flight, and I made preparations to go to the farther end of the Bourbonnois to await the storm that was indicated to me. Notwithstanding the wish expressed by the Queen, I thought it right to advise only two or three of my colleagues with whom I was most intimate to leave Paris, and even these paid no great attention to the advice.

I have already said that the Queen had taken on herself to prepare for leaving Paris, and proceeding as far as Châlons: an undertaking attended with the greatest difficulties. It was necessary to escape from the guard and the watch kept up with the town, and besides to have every thing prepared on the road for a journey of about sixty leagues. Considering the strictness with which the august prisoners were guarded, it seemed impossible for the King and all the Royal Family to escape from the Palace.

In searching for a place by which they might leave the Palace with the least risk, the Queen discovered that one of her women occupied a small room in which there was a door nailed up that opened to the apartments of the Duke de

Villequier, on the ground floor, which had a passage on one side to the *Cour des Princes*, and on the other to the *Cour Royale*. The Duke de Villequier (first gentleman of the bed chamber) after being, like all the other great officers, obliged to relinquish his office, had at this time emigrated, and his apartments were unoccupied. The chamber of the Queen's woman was near the apartments of MADAME, the King's daughter. Under pretence of enlarging these, the Queen placed her woman in another room and took hers. The better to avert all suspicion, she made other changes at the time, apparently with the same view. The first lady of the bed chamber was removed, still to enlarge the apartments for MADAME, and placed on the ground floor in the apartments of the Princess de Chimay, a lady in waiting.

These arrangements being made, it was easy to pass unperceived into the Duke de Villequier's apartments, the key of which the Queen had procured: and there was no great difficulty in going out of the Palace that way, notwithstanding the number of sentries in the Court, as none of them were posted at the Duke's door, and as the sentries were accustomed at certain hours, to see a great many people going at the same time

from the Palace, particularly about eleven o'clock at night, when the attendance there was over..

It was absolutely necessary to place confidence in some persons, for the purpose of getting horses and carriages ready. The Queen for that purpose cast her eyes on the Count de Ferzen, a young Swedish mobleman in the service of France, long devoted to Her Majesty, and on whose fidelity, discretion, and courage, she could fully depend. M. de Fersen undertook to have a coach and six, for six persons, ready near the barrier of St Martin, to go as far as Claye, the second post on the road to Châlons. He also engaged to meet all the travellers near the Thuilleries, and attend them to the carriage. It being desirable that the carriage should be large, commodious, and safe, he determined to have such an one made for himself.

These preliminary arrangements made, the journey was fixed for Sunday night the 19th of June. M. de Bouillé was informed of it time enough to prepare matters between Châlons and Montmedy, and to give the Queen notice before the family set out from Paris. Under a show of military

measures he stationed the regiments on which he could most depend near Montmedy.

He was thwarted in these measures by orders from the Minister of War. That office was no longer filled by the brave and loyal Count de la Tour-du-Pin, so honourably mentioned by M. de Bouillé in his Memoirs, and whose son was ready to fight on this occasion, as he had before done in the affair of Nancy, at the side of the General. Instead of this, M. de Bouillé was successively deprived of the *Carabiniers*, the *Royal Liégeois*, *Vigiers*, *Saxe-Hussars*, and *Royal Normandy*, on whom he could firmly rely, and whom he meant to employ. He was compelled to make use of others less to be depended upon, but among whom were still the *Royal Germans*, the noblest and surest regiment in the army, who were fortunately in garrison at Stenay, where they remained. M. de Bouillé gave early notice of his going to inspect the districts under his command, that he might be able without suspicion to leave Metz, and repair to the spot where he expected the King. At the same time he caused a report to be spread that a convoy was coming from Paris with money to pay the troops, and under this pretence sent some detachments forward on the road the King was to take. He gave a colour to

the arrival of others at points which he wished to secure, by ordering a removal of troops, and regulating their march and their halt at those points, to the day on which the King was to pass.

Under pretence of strengthening the frontiers, he ordered a camp to be marked out near Montmedy, and nine battalions of foot and twenty-six squadrons of horse, amounting to about 10,000 men, to repair there on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of June. By the 19th, the Artillery and camp equipage were on the ground, and provisions and ammunition provided before-hand for three months with the greatest secrecy; and M. de Bouillé went to Montmedy and to Stenay some days before the 20th, in order to make his last arrangements.

Before these arrangements are mentioned, in order to understand them, it will be necessary to give an idea of the road the King was to travel after passing Châlons. At three leagues beyond this town, stands the bridge of *Sommevele*, on a little river, which it is necessary to pass either going to Verdun by the highway, or to Varennes by the cross-road. From *Pont-de-Sommevele*, the great road leads to *St. Menehould*, at the distance

of four leagues; then to *Clermont-en-Argonne*, four leagues farther. Beyond Clermont the road parts, the right is the highway to Verdun, and the left on which there is no post, leads to *Varennes*, which is three or four leagues from Clermont. From Varennes a bad road runs to *Dun* five leagues on, there we cross the Meuse, and enter the great road from Verdun to *Montmedy*, leaving Stenay on the left. The distance from Dun to Montmedy is between five and six leagues.

Let us now mention the arrangements made by M. de Bouillé. Forty Hussars of Lauzun with an officer named Boudet, were ordered to St. Menehould on the 19th of June, and to march early on the 20th, to Pont de-Sommevele, and to wait there for the King until night, to escort him as far as St. Menehould, and then to return and guard the passage of Port-de-Sommevele for eighteen or twenty hours, and to let no one whatever pass. The Duke de Choiseul, whose regiment was in this part of the country, and M. de Goguelas, an officer on the staff, were to go with this detatchment: the King and Queen, to whom these officers were particularly known, had directed M. de Bouillé to impart the secret to them, and to employ them at this first post, which was to set all the others in motion.

M. d'Andouin, a captain in the *Royal Dragoons*, was ordered to be at St. Menehould on the 20th, to receive the King and escort him to Clermont. There a hundred Dragoons of *Monsieur's* regiment, and sixty of the Royals commanded by Count Charles de Damas, were to arrive on the 19th, under pretence of going into quarters at Mouzon, and halting at Clermont on the 20th, were to escort the King to Varennes, whither sixty Hussars of Lauzun were ordered by M. de Bouillé to march on the 19th in the evening.

A hundred Hussars of the same Regiment, under command of M. Deslong, were stationed at Dun, on the Meuse, a very important pass, on account of the bridge and narrow street leading to it.

Fifty troopers of the *Royal Allemand* were sent to Menza, a little village between Dun and Stenay, and these were to escort the King as far as Montmedy, leaving Stenay, a very revolutionary town, to the left. Lastly, the General himself was to keep between Stenay and Dun, nearly in the centre of his positions, to have prompt intelligence and to regulate every thing.

These several commanders were not all informed of the real object of these arrangements. M. de Goguelas was charged to reconnoitre the whole road in a very particular manner, to go to Paris to give the King and Queen an account of it, as well as of all M. de Bouillé's arrangements, and to return with His Majesty's orders in writing for the troops at the moment it would be necessary to make the King known to them. To those orders were added blanks signed by the King to be used by M. de Bouillé in unforeseen cases.

The Duke of Choiseul who made frequent excursions to Paris, undertook to go thither about the time fixed for the King's flight; and it was agreed that he should set out again from Paris some hours before the King, and wait for him at Pont de Sommevele, with M. de Goguelas. One of them, the moment the King arrived there, was to set out after receiving his orders, to carry them successively to all the following detachments; the other remaining to accompany the King, and to take the command of the escort until they came up with M. de Bouillé. The secret was also confided at the moment of the project's being executed to M. M. de Damas, d'Hofflize, Kingling, and Heymann, but the other commanders knew nothing but of escorting a treasure.

Varennes is a small town on a deep river, with a bridge dividing it into a high and low town; it does not lie in the line of posts, and it had been foreseen that the post-horses arriving there could not be carried on. To avoid this dilemma, it was agreed that M. de Choiseul should take care to have a relay of six horses there, waiting for the King at a house which stands in a striking situation at the entrance of Varennes on the Clermont side. As the roads about Dun were bad, M. de Bouillé had the farther precaution of stationing another relay of his own horses at Dun.

Although every thing was ready for the night of the 19th, which was fixed for the journey, it was retarded by an unforeseen event for four and twenty hours. It was usual for the change of the chamber-woman's service to be made every Sunday morning. Though the Queen had confided her secret solely to Madame Thibault her chief attendant, who was to set out by another road at the same time, it was to be feared that on the day of the departure there might be movements within the Palace which might excite suspicion in the minds of such of her women, and especially of those about her children, who might be inclined to betray her. She had in consequence made her arrangements for the evening of her departure,

so that those women should be in waiting who were so much in her interest, that, without telling them her secret, she would not have to fear any treachery on their part, should they even have suspicions. By accident one of the Dauphin's women, a person to be depended upon, who was to have been in waiting that day, being indisposed, another, who was strongly suspected of democracy, continued until Monday in her place. The Queen thought the only thing that could be done on the occasion, was to delay the journey for four and twenty hours; but took care to give notice of it to M. de Bouillé by an express that arrived on the 15th at night. The General had time to change his orders, and the different detachments, instead of taking their posts on the 19th at night, and 20th in the morning, arrived at them on the 20th at night, and 21st in the morning: but the officer whom M. de Choiseul had employed to send on and station his relay, neglected changing the original orders he had given, and they arrived at Varennes on the 19th at night.

Two precautions, which I have not yet mentioned, were taken preparatory to the journey. The one was to provide a passport in case of accident. Such a one was necessary as would serve

for the King, the Queen, Madame Elizabeth, the two children and Madame de Tourzelle, who were to travel together. The Queen proposed to the King to send the children with their aunt by the way of Flanders, and to go by themselves to Montmedy. However rational this proposal, and however strong the arguments with which the Queen supported it, never would the King consent to separate his fate from that of his children: MONSIEUR and MADAME, who received notice the day before, set out alone on the road to Flanders: the event proved that the children would have passed as easily as they did, and that the Queen's idea was just.

At this time passports for leaving the kingdom were still delivered out by the Minister for foreign affairs; they were signed by the King, and countersigned by the Minister; and they contained only the names of persons without a description of them. The Count de Montmorin was the Minister for foreign affairs, and was certainly at that period extremely devoted to the King. The Queen did not rely on him, though her prejudices against him were not nearly so strong as they had been. The King felt an inclination to repose a confidence in him, to which the Queen objected, and M. de Fersen undertook to

obtain the passports that were wanted without his suspecting whom they were for. The Baroness of Korf, a Russian lady of quality and a friend of M. Fersen's, was about to leave Paris and return to her own country. Her family consisted of her two children, a boy and girl, a valet-de-chambre, and two women. Having applied through M. de Simolin, the Russian Minister at Paris, to M. de Montmorin, for a passport for her and her family, M. de Fersen made her promise that as soon as she had passed the frontier she would send him back her passport under cover by the post; but afterwards reflecting that an unforeseen accident might prevent its returning to him exactly at the time it would be necessary, he entreated the Baroness de Korf to feign that the passport had by mistake been thrown into the fire, and to request M. de Simolin to apply to the Minister for another, which she was to give to M. de Fersen. This was done.

The other precaution was to have three faithful men to serve as couriers. The King and Queen both thought that three Gardes de Corps would be best suited to the occasion, and to the nature of the services, and they sent for the Count d'Agoult, *aid Major de Cour*, to commission

him to find the three men. Without entrusting him with the secret of the journey, the Queen asked him for three Gardes du Corps to carry dispatches, as he had provided on other occasions; saying, that all she required of them was, that they should be trusty, and strong enough to bear the fatigue of riding hard; but that there was no occasion for their being remarkably intelligent.

The Count D'Agoult, kept in the dark in respect to the object of his commission, paid attention chiefly to the qualities desired by the Queen, but of the three Gardes du Corps he selected one proved to be also very intelligent and active: none of them, however, knew any thing of Paris. He carried them to the palace that the King and Queen might see them and be acquainted with their persons and names. On the day of their departure they were ordered to be ready in the courts at the hour appointed, to attend the Royal Family to the carriage, where they would find every thing necessary for their setting off as couriers.

At length every obstacle being removed, and all things ready, on the night of the 20th, the King and Royal Family having supped as usual, retired, about half past ten o'clock, as if to go

to bed. They soon after went to the apartment of MADAME ROYALE, were joined by Madame de Tourzel with the young Prince, and prepared for their retreat through the room I mentioned, the communication of which with the empty apartments of the Duke de Villequier had been secretly opened by the Queen. The King, who was to pass for Madame de Korff's valet-de-chambre, wore a grey coat and a wig, by which he was tolerably well disguised; the rest were dressed very plain. I have heard, but do not recollect from whom, that for some time before the Chevalier de Coigny had been sent out every night through the door of the court which stood near M. de Villequier's apartments; he wore the same wig and coat which the King had for the journey, and, as his person was a good deal like the King's, the stratagem might have helped to prevent His Majesty's being recognized as he crossed the courts on the 21st of June.

MADAME ELIZABETH went first with MADAME ROYALE, followed at a little distance by Madame de Tourzel leading the Dauphin.—They were attended by one of the three Gardes du Corps. A sentry, who in walking crossed the path which the Princesses were to keep, whether accidentally or purposely, turned from

them when he was going to meet them. MADAME ROYALE observing it said in a whisper to MADAME ELIZABETH, "Aunt, we are known." They continued, however, without being remarked, left the courts and went, followed, as I have said, by Madame de Tourzel and the young Prince to the little Carousel at the corner of the *Rue de l'Echelle*, where M. Fersen was waiting for them with a carriage. It was a glass-coach, which for its look and the horses that drew it, might pass for a Paris *fiacre* or hackney coach: he had hired it at a distant part of the town, and drove it himself, dressed like a hackney coachman. He was so completely disguised, that while he was waiting, the Princesses, the Dauphin and Madame de Tourzel being already in his carriage, an empty hackney coach having stopped close to him, the driver, who took him for one of the fraternity, entered into talk with him on the usual subjects among such people. The conversation lasted a considerable time, and was supported by M. Fersen with such presence of mind, in the jargon of the whip, that not the slightest suspicion was raised in the man's mind. He managed to get rid of him, after giving him a pinch of snuff out of a shabby box which he had, and the King soon after arrived, attended by the second Garde du Corps. There had been

a considerable space of time between his quitting the palace and the first party, but it was not less fortunate, although one of his shoe-buckles broke when he was pretty near a centinel of the Carousel gate, and he was obliged to put it to rights almost before him. The Queen, who was to set out last, was waited for more than half an hour, which made the travellers very uneasy. The third Garde du Corps had been left to attend her, and to give her his arm: all went well as far as the great gate of the *Cour Royale;* but just as she was going out she saw M. de la Fayette's carriage with flambeaux and his usual guards coming up: he was going home and crossed the Carousel to go to the *Port Royal.* The Queen had on a hat that hid her face, the night was very dark, and she stood close to the wall to let M. de la Fayette's carriage pass. After escaping this danger, she told the Garde du Corps to lead her to the little Carousel, at the corner of the *Rue de l'Echelle,* which was not above two hundred paces from the spot where they were. Her guide knew still less of Paris than she did, and it was too dangerous to ask the way so near the gate of the Thuilleries. They turned by chance to the right when they should have turned to the left, went through the little gates of the Louvre, crossed the *Port Royal,* and wandered some time on the quays, and in the

Rue du Bac. They were at last obliged to ask the way, and were told it by a sentry on the bridge. They had to return by the little gates, and keep along the courts of the Thuilleries, to get to the *Rue de l'Echelle.* They at last came up to the carriage without any other misfortune than the loss of time, but that was a real one, for the value of every minute was incalculable.

The illustrious travellers being all assembled drove off immediately for the barrier St. Martin, beyond which their post coach was waiting. It was drawn by six horses with a postilion of M. de Fersen's, who was a foreigner, not able to speak a word of French, and who did not know any of the company in the coach. M. Fersen, not daring to drive the remise the shortest way, as he was not sufficiently acquainted with the streets of Paris to venture in the night through the town, thought it better to go by the *Rue St. Honoré* and round the old Boulevards; which he did and got safely to the place appointed.—All the company went from the remise to the post-coach, the Gardes du Corps on the box and behind. M. Fersen continued to be the coachman, his postilion managing the leaders: as for the glass coach, it was left with the horses to it

in the open street, without any body to take care of it or carry it back to the owner.

In less than two hours the post coach arrived at *Claye*, the second post on the road to Châlons, about six leagues from Paris: here one of M. de Fersen's people was waiting with a cabriolet and pair, to carry him back to town. Although the coach was new, it wanted some repairs at Claye, which caused more loss of time; and it will be seen of what consequence all these delays were in the end.

Post-horses were put to the King's carriage and provided for the three couriers without any difficulty. M. de Fersen having seen it set off, went into his cabriolet and returned to Paris, where it was broad day-light when he arrived. He had prepared every thing for setting out instantly for Brussels, where he was to expect to have tidings of the travellers: but he first went to the Hôtel de Ville, to the Mayor's house, and to M. de la Fayette's Hôtel, in order to ascertain himself whether the King's departure still remained unknown or not. At these places he saw that every thing was quiet, and thence concluded that no suspicion of the fact was yet stirring. He then

walked home, got into his carriage, and set out, for Flanders.

The King's flight was not discovered at Paris, until about eight o'clock in the morning. It seems that the first intelligence of it was given to M. de la Fayette, or M. de Gouvion, by the woman of the wardrobe, whose chamber the Queen had taken. There is much obscurity in the deposition made by M. de Gouvion that very day at the bar of the Assembly, and many things which appear irreconciliable with the *authentic* facts I have related. He said that *for some days he had heard the project of the King's flight spoken of.* So far he was right; in spite of the secrecy observed, it had transpired in a vague manner that the King thought of going off; it was mentioned in some of the Jacobin journals of the time, more than a fortnight before the event took place, but the authors of those libellous publications had so totally lost all credit by the notorious falsities and absurdities with which they filled their papers, that they could now make no more impression on people of sense than before. It is even very doubtful whether, on this occasion, they spoke from vague notions of the King's secret, which might have reached them, or whether it was one of their daily inventions,

hit off by chance and casually verified by the event.

But M. de Gouvion, in his report states, that "several days before a credible person"—whom he insinuates to be a woman belonging to the palace of the Thuilleries—"had given him notice of the project, and had mentioned that "it was to be put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st, and even so particularly as to point out the very door by which the "Royal Family were to pass;"—which, in fact, was the door—"that upon this intelligence, he, "M. de Gouvion, determined to depend upon "none but himself to guard that day, and that "with some other officers he spent the night in "watching that door without observing any "thing particular. That, notwithstanding, the "same person who had given the information, "came in the morning, and told him that the "King and Royal Family had fled by that door." It must, no doubt, be from this account, which is inconceivable in every respect, that some persons have thought that M. de la Fayette was apprised of the escape, and had secretly favoured it. Certain it is, not only the King and Queen had not entrusted their secret to M. de la Fayette, but that they had always believed it of the

utmost importance to conceal it from him. The few persons to whom it had been necessarily imparted were so faithful that it is certain none of them ever betrayed it. It is not, however, impossible that something of it might have been guessed by others who might have made known their observations or conjectures to M. de la Fayette or M. de Gouvion, and that, by this means, both of them might have had faint ideas of it. They themselves can alone tell how far they were informed, and why, supposing them apprised, they did not use a little more precaution, which would have been sufficient to prevent the escape. The Queen seemed to me, at times, to think they knew the project, but she did not tell the grounds of this conjecture. Whatever may be the truth of this matter, which will probably remain for ever in the dark, M. d'André, who at that time had great weight in the Assembly, and who had at last, secretly, devoted himself to the King, from whom he received a thousand crowns every month by the hands of M. de Montmorin, was the first person informed of the escape: by whom I never heard, but so early as six o'clock in the morning he went to M. de Montmorin's to give him intelligence of the event. The minister was certain it could not be. The King, whose confidence in him at that time he thought entire,

had not given him the slightest idea of his project. He would not at first believe the information, for he thought himself too sure of the King's friendship to suppose that His Majesty would not have apprised him of a circumstance which might be attended with such serious consequences to him, and as was proved by the event; but receiving a letter which the King had left for him, he could no longer doubt. It was delivered to him early in the morning, before, or just as M. d'André had left the house. The letter was merely to inform him of the King's departure, and to tell him to wait for his orders. In justice to M. de Montmorin, I must here observe, that at this moment he forgot his own dangers and sincerely gave way to the joy of knowing the King had escaped the perils of leaving Paris, which appeared the most to be dreaded.

This letter was not the only writing left by the King: there was another for the ministers, prohibiting their signing or executing any thing till he sent them fresh orders; and there was a declaration containing the motives of his departure written entirely with his own hand, composed by himself, and known only to the Queen. This declaration and the letters were delivered, sealed, to M. de la Porte, Intendant of the civil list,

LOUIS XVIII, ROI DE FRANCE

ET DE NAVARRE, NÉ LE 17 NOVEMBRE 1755.

Peinture au Versailles

L. Schiavonetti sculp.

MARIE JOSÉPHINE LOUISE DE SAVOIE, REINE DE FRANCE

ET DE NAVARRE. NÉE 2 SEPTEM. 1753.

with orders to send the letters as directed, on the 21st in the morning, and to cause the declaration to be read in the Assembly at the same time. The bold manner in which M. de la Porte executed this dangerous commission may be seen in all the public papers of that period.

The other precautions used by the King and Queen previous to their departure, were, 1st, to send away MONSIEUR, the King's brother, and MADAME, on the same night they set out themselves, making them take the road to Flanders: —2d. The Queen burnt all the papers she had, that might any way endanger those with whom she had corresponded. The King also burnt a great part of his, and secured the rest:—3d. Their Majesties took with them a small sum of money in gold, and 600,000 livres in assignats. These sums were independent of the funds at the disposal of M. de Bouillé for conducting his measures, and supplying what might be wanted at first. The amount of these I never knew; but it appears, that, at the period of the King's flight, there remained in the General's hands about a million of livres, of which he gave an account.

I do not know that care was taken to secure before-hand any larger funds. It had been considered, with good reason, that if the project succeeded, there would be time to procure them, either by loans abroad, or by the revenues of the provinces, which the King must have flattered himself would declare for him.

I shall not speak of what passed at Paris when the King's flight was known there: an account of it is to be found in all the papers of the time, and as I was at a great distance from the scene I had no particular knowledge of the subject. I shall confine myself to one remark on the occasion, which may appear extraordinary, but is not the less true: it is this; that notwithstanding the firmness displayed by the Assembly on this event, the orders that were given, and the measures they took to have the King arrested and brought back to Paris, a very great majority, at least of those who had an opinion of their own, regarded the event as fortunate, and, though from different motives, formed secret wishes for its success. The whole *Côté Droit*, making near a third of the Assembly, saw in it the end of an order of things of which they were the victims, and welcomed the hope of a counter-revolution. The *Côté Gauche* was at that time divided into three very

distinct parties, two of which contemplated the King's flight with pleasure: one, very small in number, was composed of Republicans, who hoped in the event to find the means of overturning the Monarchy, and who believed that they should attain their object more easily were His Majesty once out of the kingdom: the other, diametrically opposite to this, considerably numerous, and deriving much weight from the talents of the persons who composed it, wished a Revolution, but were of opinion that the present one had already passed all bounds. The constitution which they adopted, as to its principle, appeared to them defective in general important points, and wanted solidity from the contradictions with which it abounded, or still more from the deficiency of liberty in the King's acceptance. If his flight succeeded, it would necessarily lead to a negotiation, which from his known moderation was considered as easy whenever a mutual good understanding were sincerely wished, and such a negotiation, by removing the objection of constraint, would afford the means of correcting what was most defective in the constitution. The third party of the *Côté Gauche* consisted of all those, who not looking so far, thought but of the fear that might be spread by the idea of the King free at the frontiers, and surrounded by an army,

and the personal danger that by this event, they might run amidst the populace of Paris then in great ferment, as all that interfered with the Revolution did every thing to exasperate them against the King. At the head of this party was M. de la Fayette, on whom was thrown the chief blame of the King's flight, either because he favoured it, or did not prevent it, and who at first narrowly escaped being sacrificed by the blind fury of the people.

He was warmly supported by all his party in the Assembly, which was then numerous, as well as by all the members of the *Côté Gauche*, who, from fear, want of information, and the habit of suffering themselves to be led, always joined the party which appeared to them the most powerful. Although this party was the smallest, as to number, it was as to weight, that which determined all the measures that were taken by the Assembly, without scarcely any opposition. The reason of which was, that the opinion of the populace of Paris was so decided against the King's flight, and for the necessity of bringing him back to Paris, that even all those who were not used to suffer themselves to be ruled by the populace, did not dare to discover their sentiments, or give

the slightest opposition to the measures that were the will of the mob.

At the first news of the King's flight, M. de la Fayette, with the members of the Assembly who had come to inform him of it, established this position, *that the King and Royal Family were carried off by the enemies of the public welfare.* This point being settled, he thought, or appeared to think, that the King was going to Valenciennes, and dispatched that way, one of his confidential aides de camp, M. Louis de Romeuf, a young man whom he had particularly attached to the service of the Queen, and on whom his Majesty had heaped favours. In giving him his orders he said: *They have too much the start of us to overtake them; but we must do something:* As to the order, it ran as follows: "M. de Romeuf, "my aid de camp, is charged to proclaim every "where on his way, that the enemies of the "country have conveyed away the King, and "to command all the friends of the public wel- "fare to oppose His Majesty's journey. I take "upon myself the whole responsibility of this "notice. LA FAYETTE."

The Assembly having met, began by adopting the position respecting the King's being carried

off. Immediately after, a decree was passed ordering all the administrative bodies, national guards, and troops of the line, to stop, or cause to be stopped, all persons leaving the kingdom; to intercept all arms, ammunition, gold, silver, specie, and effects whatsoever; in a word, to take every measure for opposing the carrying off the King. The minister of the interior was enjoined instantly to dispatch courjers with this decree into all the departments.

At the conclusion of this first resolution, news was brought that an aide de camp of M. de la Fayette's, sent by him to discover the road the King had taken, was just brought by the people to the door of the Assembly, and that he asked to be admitted in and heard. This was young Romeuf, whom the furious people had really seized as he was going out of Paris. They had dragged him off his horse, and hurried him away, first to the section of the Feuillants, then to the National Assembly, to give an account of his conduct. Another hour was consumed in hearing this officer, applauding him, and giving him the decree just passed, to be added to the order of his General, and appointing two commissaries and an usher to go and rescue one of his companions who was still in the hands of the populace,

and to secure their way out of Paris; all which was nevertheless rapidly transacted. The two officers, as they approached the barrier were again surrounded by the people. A report was spread that in the night two coaches with six horses to each had passed through the town of Meaux: Romeuf was desired by the people to take that road, and obeyed.

Meanwhile, the King and Royal Family continued their journey towards Châlons without any impediment, and without stopping to eat, having carried sufficient provisions in the coach. They were nowhere asked for their passport, nor did any difficulty arise in providing them with horses; and they arrived at Châlons between four and five o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st. Here a man belonging to the town, being accidentally at the post house, while the carriage stopped to change horses, thought he recognized the King. Labouring with this idea he went to the Mayor, with whom he had some connection, communicated his discovery, and proposed to have the carriage stopped. The Mayor, who was very little of a revolutionist, seemed at first to agree entirely with the man; but so artfully alarmed him as to the consequences to both of them of such a step, if, unfortunately, he were mistaken

in a fact so unlikely as that of the King's being in the carriage he had seen and which was now gone off, that at last the poor man agreed that it was very possible his sight might have been deceived, and that it was wiser to be quiet and say nothing of the matter. The King had escaped this danger and was got from Châlons, when, as his carriage stopped for a moment on the road, a stranger, dressed like a common person, came up to it, and putting his head in at one of the windows near which Madame de Tourzel was, said, in an audible voice, "*Your measures are all badly* "*taken, you will be stopped.*" He then instantly went off, before there was any time to ask his name or what he was.

The arrangements which the Queen had undertaken for the journey went no farther than Châlons sur Marne, and we have seen that so far all happily succeeded. I have already stated the preparations made by M. de Bouillé to secure the rest of the way. The first escort was to have been ready at Pont de Somevele, where M. de Choiseul and M. Goguelas were to have been charged with the private orders of the King and M. de Bouillé, and whence the operations of all the succeeding posts were to be put in motion. The King arrived there about six o'clock in the

afternoon, without perceiving any thing on the high road or near it. This first disappointment added to what had been said by the stranger on the road near Châlons, made a strong impression on the Queen, and she could not refrain stooping towards MADAME ELIZABETH to say in a whisper that "all was lost, and they should be stopped." The cause of the failure of the first escort is as follows:

M. de Goguelas, being informed by M. de Bouillé of the delay of 24 hours, left him at Stenay on the 17th, in order to go for the detachment of fifty hussars under the command of M. de Boudet, to bring them up in good time on the 21st to Pont de Somevele, where he was to be joined by M. de Choiseul, and wait for the King. He slept on the 20th at St. Menehould. The officer unfortunately had never thought of giving notice to the municipality of his march or his ostensible orders, and a ferment began to take place in the town. However, M. de Goguelas set out on the 21st in the morning with all his men, and arrived early at his station at Pont de Somevele, where he was joined, as proposed, by M. de Choiseul.

In the King's journey every thing had been calculated to a minute, and three o'clock in the afternoon was the hour fixed for his arrival at Pont de Somevele. It passed, and there was no appearance either of the King or any of his couriers, one of whom, according to the arrangements agreed upon, was always to be three hours before the carriage. From this circumstance, an hour's delay of the courier shewed that the carriage was three hours beyond its time. Between five and six o'clock it was from four to five hours behind, and then he could not be expected till eight o'clock. M. de Choiseul and M. de Goguelas were not only extremely uneasy, but were in a dreadful position. The sight of the hussars waiting so long at a fixed spot, had created a mob at Pont de Somevele, and it was murmured very freely that the escort for money was a pretence. Châlons, which was below Pont de Somevele, sent some National Guards to ask the reason for those detachments. St. Menehould, which was higher, and where the ferment had been hourly increasing from the day before, sent also a deputation. There was a talk of ringing the alarm bell to call in the country people, and some bells had absolutely began to sound. M. de Choiseul and M. de Goguelas consulted together, in a low voice, in presence of the mul-

titude, who watched all their motions. Could the King, who had already once postponed his departure from Paris, have been induced to another delay? had he set out and been arrested on the road? in either case it would be wrong to excite a riot and sacrifice a detachment for no purpose. Were it still possible that the King should arrive in the evening, it would be to render his arrest certain, it would be to deliver him up instead of escorting him, to collect in his way all the communes of the different places assembled by the alarm bell and inspired with a distrust which would soon degenerate into fury. Both the commanders were struck with this reasoning, when a man in the crowd, close to their horses, observed, that in the morning a heavy laden diligence had passed that way. Another man said that it had a great deal of money in it. M. de Choiseul caught at these words, and asked the person who spoke them, *if he was sure of what he said.* He received an answer in the affirmative, and several witnesses, whether true or false, corroborated the assertion. "Why did you not "tell me this three hours ago?" replied M. de Choiseul, then addressing himself in an audible voice to M. de Goguelas: "It is clear," said he, "that the diligence has the start of us. The "money we were to have escorted is gone past.

" We have nothing more to do here." These words had the effect of magic; the tumult subsided, the alarm bell was stopped, the mob dispersed, and M. de Choiseul and M. de Goguelas marched quietly from Pont de Somevele with their troops.

They went off in the slowest step possible, and frequently halting to preserve every chance to the last moment. Having marched in this manner for a considerable time without seeing any thing of the King's carriage or his courier, they no longer doubted that the project was put off, at least till another day. On this, fearing to renew the tumult which their presence had excited the day before at St. Menehould, and knowing that it was sufficiently guarded as well as Clermont, if no extraordinary commotion took place, they determined to go round the town instead of going through it, and to proceed to Varennes by the shortest way, through the woods of the Clermontois.

Truth compels me to say that the Marquis de Bouillé reproached M. de Goguelas for not having remained himself behind in disguise to give notice to the other detachments, in case of the King's arrival, as the General says he had

a secret order to that effect. But the same truth likewise compels me to observe, that the object of the detachment was to secure the King's proceeding at the posts where they were respectively stationed; that the King had passed through Pont de Somevele, which was entrusted to M. de Choiseul and M. de Goguelas; through St. Menehould, entrusted to M. d'Andouin; through Clermont, entrusted to M. de Damas; and that he was was not stopped till he got to Varennes.

About an hour after the detachment left Pont de Somevele the King's carriage arrived there, almost as soon as his courier, who all the way was never more than five minutes before it, which was a capital fault. The King changed horses quietly and went forward to St. Menehould, where the tardy courier now arrived but too soon; for, during the five minutes he was before the King, he missed the post-house, was obliged to turn back in the town, asked the way of different people, and excited the public attention already but too much awakened.

The inhabitants of St. Menehould were very revolutionary. Suspicions had been kept up and encreased among them by the dragoons of M. d'Andouin directly succeeding M. de Goguelas

hussars. They were never lost sight of for a minute. M. d'Andouin, to moderate the ferment, had taken the resolution not to keep his men under arms. He was walking the streets with several of his dragoons when the carriage containing the Royal Family passed by; the dragoons raised their hands to their helmets saluting the persons in it, and the Queen returned the salute with her usual grace and goodness. Was this merely politeness on the part of the dragoons? or was it something more, and had they begun to suspect the secret? They had not been told who the persons were whom they saluted. Be this as it may, this concurrence of circumstances worked upon the imagination of the people, whose uneasiness began to show itself strongly. A few minutes more and the King would not have found it easy to leave the town, but the presence of the dragoons still kept up an awe; the horses were changed and the carriage proceeded.

During the time they took to change horses, the King putting his head too frequently to the window of the carriage, was observed by the son of the post-master, who was a very warm patriot, named Drouet. He had seen the King at the Federation the year before, but the better to ascertain his idea he took out an assignat, on

which was a tolerable resemblance of Louis XVI, and compared it for some with the face before him. His attention to the object was too striking to escape the Queen, whose uneasiness was increased by it. It then wanted about a quarter of eight o'clock.

However sure Drouet thought he was of the King's being in the carriage, he did not dare to give the alarm at St. Menehould, either through fear of the dragoons, or the departure of the carriage: but he resolved to follow it, and to have it stopped where he saw it was possible. He imparted his discovery and resolution to his wife, who, in vain, did and said every thing she could to prevent his going:—He mounted his horse and followed the carriage.

M. de Damas, stationed at Clermont, had received orders from M. de Bouillé to have his troops mounted an hour after the carriage had passed, and to proceed by Varennes to Montmedy. He had heard from a valet-de-chambre of the Queen's, named Leonard, whom M. de Choiseul had taken with him, and whom he had dispatched at half-past four o'clock from Pont de Somevele to Stenay, of the long delay of the arrival of the carriage, and of the great uneasiness

occasioned by the courier's not appearing. He saw the hour approaching for the retreat, after which the horses could not be kept ready saddled, especially at a time of revolution, when every thing excites insurrection, and in a town decidedly seditious, the inhabitants of which murmured at the unusual preparations they saw made within their walls. M. de Damas, full of these thoughts, was walking in the square, when he saw the carriage drive up. He went to it and talked a short time with their Majesties, when the King briefly directed him to do what he could to follow him with his dragoons, and to let the carriage go off without taking any notice of it.

When the fresh horses were put to, which was done very expeditiously, M. de Damas went and gave orders to his men to mount their horses and draw up in the square to march from thence to Mouzon. The orders were soon obeyed; but, though the King's carriage was by that time at a great distance, and consequently this movement did not appear to be connected with it, yet the people, a great number of whom were in the square, seemed to oppose the troops going; on which M. de Damas ordered the men to draw their swords and march. Instead of obeying,

they almost all made a motion as if to fix their swords in the scabbard, and remained in their place. At this time the municipal officers appeared, and, in form, required M. de Damas to dismiss the troopers to their barracks, and to delay their march till the next morning. M. de Damas, seeing that he could do nothing more, rode off himself, calling out, "*Let those that love me* "*follow*;" and went on to overtake the carriage, if he could, followed by only two or three persons.

There is reason to think that what passed at Clermont, after the King left it, was not casual, but rather the effect of the arrival of Drouet, who followed the carriage closely. It looks as if he had imparted his discovery to the municipality, and had, by that means, contrived to prevent the troops under M. Damas from following the King. It seems clear, that he arrived in Clermont just as His Majesty left it, or a very short time after, and took a fresh horse to continue his pursuit, and to get before him to Verdun, whither he supposed he was going. He was observed by a serjeant of the Royal Dragoons, a man to be depended upon, who was mounted on his horse in St. Menehould, at the time the mutiny took place. This worthy man guessing the design of

the perfidious Drouet, determined to do every thing he could to prevent him; he dexterously evaded the attention of his comrades and the people, and set out after him. Calculating for a long stage, and fearing to knock up his horse, he rode too slowly at first going off, for Drouet taking to the woods on the left of the highway, his pursuer lost his track and could never come up with him.

At a certain distance from Clermont where the road divides into two, one leading to Verdun and the other to Varennes, the King ordered the drivers to take the latter, and had gone on a considerable way when Drouet arrived at the division of the roads. Not doubting that the King was gone to Verdun he took that way without hesitation, and would probably not have discovered his error in time, if he had not by chance met a post-boy on his return from carrying a courier to Verdun. He asked him if he had met a coach and six, and whether it was a great way before him. The post-boy answering that he had seen nothing, Drouet no longer doubted that it had taken the road to Varennes, and that there he was to endeavour to arrive before it. Instead of going back, he struck into a cross road leading in a pretty direct line to Varennes, and pushed on so speedily that he got there before the King.

I have already said, that the King was to find in this town a change of horses and a guard of sixty hussars. The horses had arrived on the 20th: they belonged to M. de Choiseul, and were to be stationed by M. de Goguelas. The hussars had only come in on the 21st, in the evening, on pretence of the money they were to escort. The municipality, who had already become suspicious at the arrival and stay of the relay, was more so when the detachment marched in. They provided the hussars with quarters at the old convent of the Cordeliers, situated on the side of the bridge near the Paris road, and the commanding officer, M. Rodevel, a young man of 18 years of age, was lodged at the house of one of the inhabitants in the same part of the town. The relay of horses, which was to be placed in a kind of farm, at the entrance of Varennes towards Clermont, stopped at an inn on the other side of the bridge, that is, at the end directly opposite to that where the King was to expect them.

M. de Bouillé, early in the morning of the 21st dispatched to Varennes his second son, the Chevalier de Bouillé, and M. de Raigecourt, whose regimentals were like those of the regiment de Lauzun, with instructions to have the horses placed ready for the King's arrival, and to return

and inform him of all that was passing. From the ferment that prevailed at Varennes, they thought it would be prudent to make no movement till the signal, which was to be given them in good time, by M. de Goguelas, or by a courier. All they did was to tell M. Rodevel, whom they did not think proper to inform of the truth, to keep his people ready to mount on the first order. It seems that he entirely neglected this instruction, ignorant of the great charge with which he was at that moment entrusted.

The King arrived about eleven o'clock at night. The house at which the horses were to stand had been so well described to him that he was at no loss to know it; but, on asking for the horses, he could hear nothing of them. Meeting with nobody who could inform him, he drove into the high town and alighted with the Queen, who knocked at several doors and went into some houses pretending to enquire for her relay, but, in fact, with the hope of seeing some of the persons who were to have been waiting for her at Varennes. She searched in vain; none of those employed in this little town having thought of placing any body at the entrance of it to give the King information.

Their Majesties, after walking about the high town for some time, proposed to the post-boys to go on. These objected on account of the horses being tired and unable to proceed till they had rested and were fed. After this debate, which lasted for a considerable time, the King prevailed upon them to drive him over the bridge, and he and the Queen went again into the carriage.

Meanwhile Drouet, who got to Varennes a little before the carriage, had not lost a moment in the pursuit of his design. His first care was to give information to the Procureur of the Commune, whose name was Sauce, and to prevail upon him to arrest the King. He found no difficulty in persuading him to do it; Sauce was a kind of revolutionary fanatic and not deficient in address. He instantly issued orders for assembling the National Guards of Varennes, and surrounding the convent of the Cordeliers, where the sixty hussars were quartered. He, at the same time, sent emissaries to give notice to the villages and hamlets in the neighbourhood to send their National Guards to Varennes, and dispatched couriers to Verdun and Sedan for the same purpose.

While Sauce was doing this, Drouet, assisted by two or three determined men, the name of one of whom was Billaud, the same afterwards known for his fury in the Convention, overturned large carriages to stop up the bridge, and make it impossible for the King to pass, if he should attempt it by force. This done, he and his comrades, well armed, went and placed themselves in ambush under a vault by which it was necessary to pass to go to the bridge, and the best place for stopping the carriage. All these preparations were made so quietly, that neither the hussars, nor their officers, nor the persons sent by M. de Bouillé knew any thing of them.

When the carriage drew into the vault it was stopped by Drouet and his people, under pretence of having the passports of the travellers examined by the municipality of Varennes, and having their persons inspected.

Drouet did not let a word escape him which might give an idea that he knew it was the King. Two muskets, with bayonets, were crossed in the carriage from each window. Drouet, with a degree of brutality, desired the travellers to go to the Procureur of the Commune's house, which was close by; and it is even said that he laid his hand upon the King. His Majesty thought that

all resistance would be useless, and still hoping that he was not and might not be recognised, and that at all events he might be rescued by force from the danger he and his family were in, he consented to go with Drouet. Sausse pretended to take them for common travellers, asked them for their passports, which he read and appeared to find regular. He then told them that their horses could not go on without refreshment, and, as that would take some time, he requested they would rest themselves at his house, where they would be better than in their carriage. There was no means of avoiding it: all the family were received in a low room, through the door of which all that passed in the street could be seen. The Queen placed herself at the door, and it was not long before she perceived that a crowd was gathering, and that the house was surrounded. She could now no longer doubt that they were known and arrested.

Meanwhile Sausse kept up his politeness and dissimulation under the mask of good nature:— He left his guests from time to time under pretence of hastening the horses, or seeing if they were ready, but in reality to give the necessary orders on the occasion. When a sufficient number of men were assembled to guard the house in

which the King was, and the convent where the hussars were lodged, the streets were barricadoed, the alarm bell was rung at Varennes, and answered in all the neighbouring parishes. On this signal the National Guards poured in on all sides, and such was their activity that in less than two hours several thousands were collected at Varennes.

The noise of the alarm bell, and the tumult caused by it, gave M. de Raigecourt and the Chevalier de Bouillé the first tidings of the misfortune that had happened. Convinced that they should be soon arrested if they waited the event, they mounted their horses, made their way through some armed men, left Varennes amidst the fire of some musquetry, and took the road to Stenay, to go and inform M. de Bouillé of what had happened. They were soon after joined by M. de Rodevel, the commander of the hussars, and reached M. de Bouillé's quarters at a little after four o'clock, nearly five hours after the King was arrested.

It seems that the young officer who commanded the hussars was quietly at home when the King arrived, and that he was so watched as not to be able to communicate with his men,

who, as I have said, were quartered at the Cordeliers; he owed his liberty to the arrival of M. de Choiseul, M. de Goguelas, and M. de Boudet, who, about an hour after the King was arrested, appeared at the gates of Varennes with the detachment of forty hussars which they had brought from Pont de Somevele. They found some pieces of cannon and a number of National Guards who opposed their entering. Stating that they were a party of the hussars who were in the town, and requesting to appeal to them, the commanding officer was sent for, who immediately declared they belonged to his troop.

M. de Boudet ordered M. Rodevel to attempt every thing that should be in his power for the safety and defence of the King and the Royal Family; but, whether he had lost his senses, or saw it was impossible to be of any use, the first thing this young man did was to leave Varennes, under pretence of going to inform M. de Bouillé, without giving any order to his troop, and leaving the command to a serjeant known for his democracy.

Meanwhile the detachment from Pont de Somevele got up to the house in which the King was and formed before it. It was surrounded by a

large number of the National Guards. M. de Choiseul, M. de Goguelas, and M. de Damas went into the house to receive orders from the King. M. de Goguelas soon returned into the street, and told the hussars and the people that *it was the King and Queen who were arrested.* These words produced no effect on the soldiers, and the people only replied to them with shouts of fury. M. de Goguelas, notwithstanding, ordered the hussars to draw their swords, and asked them whether they were for the King or the Nation. They answered *Vive la Nation! We are and ever will be for the Nation.* This answer, which deprived M. de Goguelas of the hope of employing force, determined him to feign himself of the same sentiments, and to enter upon the preparations to be made against the succours announced, in order to give the King time to receive them. The patriots were not the dupes of this feint, but desired to arrest him:—he escaped from them wounded by a pistol, went into Sausse's house, and, after the King's departure, made his way in disguise to Mezieres, where he was arrested and whence he was afterwards removed to Orleans. M. de Boudet was more fortunate, he escaped and joined M. de Bouillé. M. de Choiseul remained in Sausse's house, determined to share the King's fate.

Sausse, seeing that there were National Guards enough to prevent their prey from escaping, threw off the mask, and in a loud voice told the King that he knew who he was. He reproached him bitterly for his flight contrary to his word of honor, with the intention of going into a foreign country and making war against the people. He then informed him that he arrested him in the name of the nation, and that he should have him conveyed back to Paris under a strong guard.

His Majesty at first denied his being the King, which produced an altercation in which Sausse and those who were with him became more and more disrespectful. The Queen then went up to them, and put an end to it, by saying in a firm voice: "If you know him to be your King, "then speak to him with the respect you owe "him."

The King, seeing that disguise would no longer avail, resumed his natural dignity, frankness, and goodness. The room was full of people. He desired silence, and, addressing himself to all present, acquainted them with the object and the motives of his journey, his intentions, his ardent desire to ascertain the real wishes of his people, which the captivity in which he was held

at Paris prevented his knowing; his firm resolution of doing every thing for their happiness, whatever sacrifices it might cost him of the rights of his birth, of his authority, or private interest. He concluded by proposing to put himself voluntarily into the hands of the National Guards of Varennes, to be conducted by them to Montmedi, or any other town they should chuse, Paris excepted, that he might have it in his power to examine the constitution attentively, to ascertain the real wishes of his people, and to concur freely in whatever might effect their happiness. In this short speech the King displayed majesty, goodness, simplicity, and even a warmth and eloquence far beyond what could have been expected of him. It made a very great impression on those who heard it, and Sausse himself seemed so struck and affected by it, that he said to him in a low voice, that "Nothing could be more "reasonable than what he proposed, but that it "was too late, and that he should now lose his "life if he were not sent back to Paris." In fact, he had it not then in his power to choose: Drouet, Billaud, and the croud of National Guards that filled Varennes would certainly not have suffered their prey to escape them; souls like theirs were not formed to be melted by the King's speech, even had they been able to hear it.

In securing the King and the Royal Family, the three Gardes du Corps who accompanied them were not forgotten; they were arrested at the same time. M. de Damas, and M. de Choiseul, who never left the King since they had joined him, were arrested after Their Majesties set out, and having escaped great dangers were put to prison at Verdun, whence, a month after, M. de Choiseul was removed, by an order of the National Assembly, to the High Court at Orleans, and M. de Damas to the prison *de la Mairie* at Paris.

There yet remained the hope of being rescued by M. de Bouillé, and the King and Queen were in continual expectation of seeing him appear. Drouet and Sausse feared it, and took every precaution in their power. They made military preparations which were tolerably well arranged, and, no doubt, suggested to them by M. de Sigemont, a knight of St. Louis, commander of the National Guards. Advanced posts were stationed out of the town, the bridge and adjacent streets were barricadoed, and even some old cannon planted, and, on that side, a large body of National Guards were posted: but the chief caution was that of accelerating the King's departure for Paris. All the alarm bells of the neighbourhood,

one after the other, assembled the National Militia, who were immediately ordered to Varennes with the utmost expedition. The moment there were enough to furnish a strong guard, independently of those who were to prevent M. de Bouillé's entering Varennes, a double row was drawn out from Sausse's house to the road leading to Paris. At this moment only it was that M. de la Fayette's aide de camp, Romeuf, arrived at Varennes: it was six o'clock in the morning, and consequently seven hours after the King had been arrested. He entered the town through the double row of National Guards drawn up on each side of the way, and extending every minute by the arrival of new reinforcements. At Sausse's door he found the King's carriage getting ready with six horses, their heads turned towards the Paris road, and surrounded by the guard who were to conduct the Monarch back a prisoner. He went into the house and, with shame and sorrow, delivered the decree of the National Assembly to Sausse, who had anticipated it, and he flattered himself that he might escape the Queen's looks. He was perceived by Madame Elizabeth, and the Queen, calling him, asked him how he could undertake such a commission, ascribing all her misfortunes to M. de la Fayette. Sincerely enamoured with

the constitutional chimeras of his General, devoted to him, and as enthusiastic as himself, young Romeuf had nevertheles preserved the candour of his age and the purity of a happy disposition. He replied to the Queen that he had never thought it possible to overtake them, and that that was the very first thing M. de la Fayette had said to him in giving him the order to go in quest of the King, but that, at all events, they had both thought it would be less painful to Her Majesty to have near her a person on whose respect she might depend. He then endeavoured to vindicate his General, observing, with warmth, that far from being the author of the present misfortune, M. de la Fayette had been within a hair's breadth of being the victim of it; that the fury of the people had declared him responsible for the King's escape, and that the fatal lamp iron on the *Place de Greve* had been prepared for him. He spoke of the dangers to which the Queen exposed herself by giving her confidence to the enemies of M. de la Fayette, who, however zealous for the National liberty, was very far from being the enemy of the King and his Family. " He is," said the Queen; " He dreams of nothing but " his United States and his American Republic; " He will see what a French Republic is. Well, " Sir," continued she, " let me see this decree

" of which you are the bearer." Romeuf gave a copy of it to her. " Insolent wretches!" said the Queen as she read it, and she threw it away before she read it through. The paper fell on the bed where the Dauphin and his sister were sleeping: she took it angrily and dashed it on the floor, saying, " it would contaminate the bed " of my children." Romeuf, with tears in his eyes, said to her, in a low voice, " Would Your " Majesty prefer any other than me to be witness " to these emotions?" The Queen was struck with this, and said, " Well, Sir, I recommend " to your care M. de Damas, M. de Choiseul, " and M. de Goguelas, when we leave this place." Romeuf, in fact, saved their lives at the hazard of his own.

Meanwhile, M. de Bouillé, who had spent the night near Dun, was extremely uneasy at finding no courier arrive, and at hearing nothing of the King. Fearing some accident, he went at day-break towards Stenay, the centre of his quarters, that, whatever might have happened, he might promptly remedy the evil if it was not too late. A little after four o'clock he saw his son, M. de Raigecourt, and, to his great astonishment, the commander of the Varennes hussars riding up to him full gallop, and learned from them the mis-

fortune that had happened. Without losing a moment he ordered the regiment of Royal Allemand to join him; M. de Klenglin to march to Stenay with two squadrons to check the town; and to send a battalion of Nassau to Dun, in order to guard the passage of the Meuse; the regiment of Castella to push with the utmost celerity to Montmedy; and the two detachments of Mouza and Dun to advance and attack Varennes. These arrangements being made, he waited for the Royal Allemand, who, notwithstanding the order they had received to be ready to mount their horses at day break, did not join him for an hour. M de Bouillé then told them in few words, that the King was arrested at Varennes, and that he depended on that brave regiment to rescue him from the hands of the patriots. An unanimous shout of *Vive le Roi* was the answer of those brave men. The General rewarded and encreased their zeal by distributing among them three or four hundred Louis, which he had with him, and immediately marched rapidly towards Varennes.

M. Deslong, who commanded the hundred hussars at Dun, anticipated M. de Bouillé's orders, for having heard of the King's arrest from the officers who were carrying the news of it to

the General, he instantly marched to endeavour to rescue him, leaving only twenty-four men and an officer to guard the passage of the Meuse at Dun. He made such expedition that he rode with the hussars, from Dun to Varennes, a distance of five leagues in an hour and a half. He was before the latter town at five o'clock, and his design was to attack it immediately, which the sight of the barricadoes obliged him to renounce. The advanced post of the National Guards offered to conduct him to the Municipality, which he refused, desiring to go into the town to join his hussars that were there. He was told that it was forbidden by the King. Certain now that His Majesty was still in the town, he asked to go and pay his respects to him. M. de Sigemont, who commanded the National Guards, consented that he should go alone, gave his word that he should be safe, that he might speak to the King by himself, and even gave him a hostage. The object M. Deslong had in view was to inform the King of the assistance that was coming up, to see the inside of the barricadoes, and to ascertain whether he could be supported by the hussars in the town. This he despaired of, and consequently of entering Varennes forcibly, when approaching the house where the King was, he saw thirty hussars mounted; these were the party brought by the

Duke de Choiseul, M. de Goguelas, and M. de Boudet.

However, M. de Sigemont carried him to the King, and even suffered him, after some difficulty, to speak with him a moment without a witness. M. Deslong, briefly related to his Majesty that his zeal had been rendered fruitless by the barricadoes, but that M. de Bouillé, with the Royal Allemand, were at hand, and that they could not be stopped by this obstacle. He repeated his words thrice, but such was the depression of the unfortunate Monarch, that M. Deslong thought he had not heard him, and was obliged to ask what His Majesty would command him to say to M. de Bouillé. "You may tell him," replied the King, "that I am a prisoner; that I am very "much afraid he can do nothing for me, but I "request he will do what he can." M. Deslong spoke also to the Queen, but as she was very near M. de Sigemont, he spoke German. She complained bitterly of the hardships she suffered, and told him, *that they would not even carry her to Verdun to rest.* The King quickly put an end to a conversation which could not but appear suspicious, and M. Deslong took leave, asking aloud His Majesty's orders. "*I am a prisoner,*" answered the King, "*I can give no more.*"

M. Deslong having rejoined his detachment without being molested, determined to make one trial more. He sent an order to those hussars in Varennes, who had remained faithful, to make an attack within the town while he attacked it without. A corporal undertook to deliver this order, but he could never get to M. Boudet, who was shut up and blockaded at the Cordeliers, with such of the hussars as had not failed in their duty.

M. Deslong was then compelled to remain inactive, and to wait the arrival of M. de Bouillé. About eight o'clock he perceived that the King and Royal Family were leaving Varennes under a strong guard, and taking the road to Paris. At that moment he was joined by Count Louis de Bouillé, and they thought the opportunity favourable for rescuing the King; but to accomplish it, it was necessary to ford the river. They crossed an arm of it with the hussars, but the main channel was too deep to be forded, and stopped their proceeding. In despair at the inutility of their efforts, they determined to go and meet the Marquis de Bouillé. They very soon fell in with him, at the head of the detachment from Meuza, whom he had found stopped in a wood by some National Guards who were firing

upon them. He had dispersed the patriots, and marched forward with the detachment, followed, at a little distance, by the Royal Allemand headed by M. d'Hofflise. He had already made his ar-arrangements for attacking Varennes, when M. Deslong informed him that the King had been gone an hour and a half.

M. de Bouillé immediately rode back to the Royal Allemand and proposed to them to follow His Majesty and make one effort more. The regiment, though harrassed with having rode nine leagues in four hours and a half, shewed the greatest readiness, and offered to dismount and remove the barricades at Varennes; but it was represented to the General, that, besides the barricades, the bridge was broken in some places, that no one knew where there was a ford, that at most four leagues more were as far as the regiment could go with horses already fatigued with a march of nine leagues, that in those four leagues they could not overtake the King, whose carriage had got the start of an hour and a half; and lastly, that their retreat would be cut off by the garrison of Verdun, who were on their march with cannon. This garrison absolutely arrived at Varennes half an hour after M. de Bouillé left it. Such

were the invincible reasons that determined M. de Bouillé to make no farther attempt to save the King. In fact, it could have tended only to spilling blood uselessly, and putting the Royal Family in danger of being massacred. It is evident to all who know this general, that, being one of the boldest, most enterprising, and bravest men of the age, he would never have resigned the glory of being the deliverer of his King, had not the impossibility of doing it been demonstrated to him. Convinced that all was irrecoverably lost, he now turned his thoughts entirely to his own safety and that of his brave men who had embarked with him in this unfortunate affair. He led his regiment directly back to Stenay, and left that town with them at the moment the Municipality had resolved to have him arrested. An order for it had already reached the frontier, but they opened their way sword in hand, receiving a fire of musquetry, and went on to Luxembourg, where M. de Bouillé wrote that famous letter which he sent to the Assembly and which was treated as a piece of rodomontade. The real design of it was to turn upon himself the fury of the Assembly, and to exculpate the King of all they might charge him with, on account of his flight, by openly confessing himself to be the author of the whole.

The retreat of M. de Bouillé removed every fear of the King's return to Paris being obstructed. He was made to leave Varennes, as I have already said, about eight o'clock in the morning, in the same carriage in which he came. The three Gardes du Corps were bound and tied upon the box. M. de Choiseul and M. de Damas, left in prison at Varennes, were sent the next day to prison at Verdun, after having been in the most imminent danger of their lives, and saved by M. Romeuf, who for some hours was confined with them.

The King's carriage was escorted by thirty of the National Guards who had assembled at Varennes: those of the towns and villages through which it passed or which lay near the great road, encreased the train, or took the place of those corps that returned home. It was calculated that the guard constantly on the road during this long and painful journey to Paris, amounted to eight or ten thousand men; and, as almost all of them were on foot, the carriage could only move a foot's pace.

Eight days were spent upon the road. To conceive how painful the journey must have been to the King and his family, we must paint to

ourselves the situation in which they were; their fears of the future, and the atrocious insulting language they heard around them: and to this we must add the excessive heat of the weather, and the clouds of dust raised by such a multitude.

After the first shock, and when all hope of succour was lost, the King and Queen resumed their courage, and became superior to their misfortune. On their countenances as well as in their words and actions reigned calmness, gentleness and serenity; and their minds would have remained unruffled had it not been for an atrocious deed which was perpetrated in their sight. Near St. Menehould, a nobleman who had an estate in the neighbourhood, and whose name was Duval Count de Dampierre, managed to make his way up to the carriage, and to testify to the illustrious captives his respect, attachment, and grief. A shower of tears accompanied the few words he had time to speak; he was dragged from the coach door, and massacred before the eyes of the King and his family, who heard his cries and saw his blood spilled.

On the second or third day they arrived at Châlons, where they met three Commissioners of the National Assembly.

The instant the King was known and taken at Varennes, Sausse and Drouet had dispatched a courier to convey the great news expeditiously to the Assembly.

The courier arrived on Wednesday evening, when all parties and every body, without knowing which way the King had taken, were beginning to think that he had escaped and was in safety.

In spite of the confident appearance supported by the Assembly, the leading members of the *Coté Gauche* were meditating the design of putting an end to the revolution by a solid accommodation with the King. They had gone so far as to confer with some of the principal members of the *Côté Droit*, and even to propose to M. de Cazalès and M. Malouet, to be two of four deputies whom they thought of sending to treat with the King.

The news of his being stopped overturned all these measures, and, from the conduct of the Jacobins and people of Paris, who on hearing it gave themselves up to a wild and ferocious joy, it was impossible any longer to consider the King but as a prisoner in the hands of his conqueror,

with nothing further to expect but from his policy or his generosity. Deferring the decision of the fate in reserve for him, the leaders of the Assembly thought only of getting him safe to Paris; and for this purpose the first thing they did was to appoint three commissioners to go and receive him from those who had stopped him, and accompany him safe to Paris, with full powers to act as they might find it necessary. M. de la Tour Maubourg, M. Barnave, and M. Pethion, were chosen commissioners. They belonged to the three parties which at that time divided the *Coté Gauche*. The first, a man of quality, was the friend and zealous partizan of M. de la Fayette, and, like him, adored the constitution even to its very defects: the second, a young lawyer of Grenoble, was of the party who began to feel that the Revolution had gone too far, and would have been delighted to have been able to throw it back a little; he was in truth, however, rather the friend of those who thought thus than of that opinion himself: the third, also a lawyer, was a fanatical republican.

They set out, a few hours after their appointment, for Châlons to meet the King, and, from the moment they joined him, took the command of every thing upon themselves. Madame de

Tourzel was removed from the King's carriage to that of the commissioners, in which she was to accompany one of them, and the two others went into his Majesty's. The Queen seemed to wish that M. de la Tour Maubourg should be one of these, because his person at least was not unknown to her. Perceiving this, he said to her in private: "That he had accepted this melancholy "commission only to endeavour to be of use to "his King; that she might depend upon him as "one of the most faithful of her subjects, but "that, perhaps, was not the same case with "Barnave, who, through his influence, was a "very important member in the Assembly; that "his vanity would be flattered by being in the "King's carriage; that it would be of service to "His Majesty, and that the Queen would have "an opportunity of knowing him more particu-"larly; and, for these reasons, he begged her to "allow him to give up to Barnave the place she "seemed to desire that he himself should take, "and that he would go in the other carriage "with Madame de Tourzel." The places were accordingly arranged in the following manner:— Barnave, who was rather thin, sat backward between the King and Queen; Pethion forwards, between Madame Elizabeth and the young Prin-

cess; and the Dauphin sat by turns on the knee of his mother, aunt, and sister.

The presence of these new companions spread, at first, a gloom, and created a kind of awkwardness in the coach. The Queen was by no means inclined to have any thing to say to them: she even appeared displeased, let her veil fall over her face, and resolved not to open her lips to the commissioners through the whole of the journey. Barnave began to draw her attention by an action which she thought a piece of insolence: he threw his eyes alternately on one of the Gardes du Corps, who was on the box, and on the Queen with an arch half-smothered smile. It having been reported that the Count de Fersen was one of the three men taken with the King, and as the Queen was not ignorant of what slander had said of her intercourse with that Swedish Nobleman, she guessed it to be the subject of Barnave's thoughts. She hastened to undeceive him, without his being able to suspect it to be her intention, by telling, unaffectedly, who the three persons on the box were. Except in this instance, Barnave, not only did not forget the deference he owed the King and Queen, but he even paid them every respectful attention the situation they were in would admit, and far from taking advantage of

circumstances, his respect and feeling seemed to increase with his opportunity of observing them.

The King soon began to behave to Barnave in that unaffected and kind manner that distinguished his character: he did not appear embarrassed with the new part which fortune had assigned to him and to the commissioners; he entered into conversation with Barnave, and chose subjects he was likely to be best acquainted with, the Revolution, the Constitution, and the Assembly. Their opinions and modes of thinking could not be the same, and, of course some argument ensued, which Barnave supported with the politeness of a gentleman, and the respect required by the distance between them. The turn which the conversation took naturally led to the subject of the King's leaving Paris. His Majesty expressed himself upon it with equal frankness and simplicity in explaining his views, his intentions, and the very sincere desire he felt to adopt whatever tended to the happiness of the kingdom rather than his own.

The Queen, in spite of her displeasure, which she took pains to shew, lost nothing of this conversation, in which she appeared resolved to take no part. She was struck with the good sense,

moderation and decorum displayed by Barnave, and determined to give up her first intention. She thought it would be of advantage, in the situation of things, to augment the interest which Barnave seemed to take in their misfortune, and to confirm and even raise the opinion which this first conversation appeared to have given him of the King's knowledge, understanding, goodness, and candour. By degrees she joined in the conversation, displaying that grace, that charm, that presence of mind and ease, which no one better knew how to blend with that majesty that became her rank and birth. It encreased in Barnave the respect and interest he felt for the King and Queen, and changed the false notions he had contracted of their character, which he had never before had any opportunity of knowing, but as coloured by the misrepresentations of malignity and party-spirit. From this conversation is to be dated the confidence the Queen ever after had in Barnave, which not only effaced the impressions his extravagances in the beginning of the Revolution had made upon Her Majesty against him, but induced her afterwards to take his advice in difficult circumstances. This bias, however, in favour of Barnave, was never extended to his friends, such as Lameth and Duport, not even at the time when she was compelled by

the situation of things to see them and to confer with them.

Pethion, who had less sensibility and less understanding than Barnave, with more revolutionary fanaticism, did not follow his example in the King's carriage. Though naturally of a tolerably mild disposition, and even of a feeling heart, according to the report of his friends, he had completely sunk them beneath the grossness, insolence, and insensibility of what has since been termed a *Sans-Culotte*, which he then no doubt took for republican liberty and frankness. *For my part, I like nothing but a Republic*, was all he could say, when the general conversation turned on politics and government, and this he constantly repeated. Not the slightest mark of feeling for the misfortunes of his fellow-travellers ever escaped him: he did not behave with even the common politeness that every man who has received any education thinks it incumbent upon him to shew to ladies.

We have seen that he sat forwards in the coach, between Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale. Though he could not be unacquainted with the great virtue and high piety of the former, he at times took the liberty of addressing

double entendres to her, which would have been improper before a woman of any station that had been well brought up. Madame Elizabeth pretended not to understand them, and treated them with silence and contempt, but Pethion daring to attack devotion and religion with some common place jests, she exposed their weakness with great force and spirit; and an argument on religion took place between them. The Queen, in relating this anecdote to me, said she was astonished at the eloquence, reasoning, and force of argument displayed by her sister on this occasion: they were such that the advantage of the conversation was not on Pethion's side. To have done with this odious personage, I shall just mention a circumstance which shews to what excess he carried his familiarity, and how deficient he was in good breeding. In the carriage were a decanter of water and a glass, placed near Madame Elizabeth: Pethion being thirsty, without any apology or attention to that politeness maintained even among equals, rudely asked her for the glass, and made her pour him out the water without even taking the trouble to thank her.

Before the arrival of the commissioners the Royal Family, whenever they stopped for dinner or supper, had always sat down to table by them-

selves, their guards remaining in the room, or at the door of it. At the first inn where they stopped after they were joined by the commissioners, Their Majesties observing that no change was made in this respect, and that the table contained only the usual number of covers for the Royal Family, thought proper to invite the commissioners to sit down with them. M. de la Tour Maubourg and Barnave refused a long time through respect; and I have even heard that Barnave pressed the King to allow him to attend behind his chair. He yielded, however, to the repeated desire of the King and Queen, and during the remainder of the journey the three commissioners constantly ate with them.

Nothing remarkable occurred the rest of the way but one circumstance, in which the Queen was extremely pleased with the conduct of Barnave. Between Châlons and Meaux an unfortunate priest attempted to approach the King's carriage, and had got pretty near it when the National Guards beset him with fury, and were dragging him to a little distance to kill him. The Queen, who by chance was looking that way, cried out, and entreated Barnave to save the poor man's life. Barnave darted from the carriage, took him out of the hands of the savages, placed

him in safety and liberty, and then returned to his seat.

On the fifth day the whole retinue arrived at Meaux. A strong detachment of the Paris guard was waiting there for the King to conduct him back to the capital. Whether owing to an accidental termination of the journey, or that things were so arranged that the King and all his family, brought back prisoners, might serve as a sight for the inhabitants of that immense city, they arrived at Paris in the middle of the day, and were carried a foot's pace through almost the whole town, going along the Boulevards from the gate of St. Martin to the *Place Vendôme*. They entered the Tuilleries' garden, which had been left open to every body by the *Pont-Tournant*. Strict orders had been given that, as the King passed, he should every where be received with a profound and doleful silence. The National Guards who lined the Boulevards, clubbed their firelocks as on occasions of mourning. The people standing behind them remained mute and kept their hats on. The following fantastical advertisement was affixed in several places: *Whoever applauds the King shall be cudgelled; whoever insults him shall be hanged;* and, so totally subverted were all ideas of propriety, that this gross proclamation

was regarded as an act of magnanimity! But if this sort of plebeian order were obeyed while the King passed along the Boulevards, it was completely forgotten when the retinue approached the palace of the Thuilleries. The most atrocious imprecations, insults, and threats were vociferated on every side. The fury of the populace appeared particularly directed against the Queen; and had it not been for the National Guard, Her Majesty, the three Gardes du Corps, and perhaps the King himself, would probably have fallen victims to it before they could have reached the palace. Even on this guard they could have no great reliance, both because many of them agreed in ideas with the mob, and, because they had on several occasions proved that they could not resist. The Queen, though fully aware of her own peril, did not discover the slightest alteration in her countenance, and attended only to the King's danger and that of the unfortunate Guards tied to the coach-box. As the carriage drew near the palace, she earnestly recommended the three men to the care of Barnave, who promised her to protect them at the risk of his own life, and kept his word; for, had it not been for him, those three faithful servants would have been sacrificed by the mob, to whose rage they had nearly been given up when the carriage stopped before the

three steps of the long and broad terrace, between the palace and the garden. M. de la Fayette and his guards were fully occupied in keeping back the crowd and guarding the short but alarming passage across the terrace, which the King and his family were obliged to walk to enter the great door of the palace. The three Guards remained tied on the box, nearly unprotected, and the populace were calling furiously for their heads, but Barnave interfered very actively, and, through his means, they were safely conducted into the palace, to wait the determination of the Assembly respecting them.

The Queen insisted upon the King and the children going out of the carriage first, resolving to be the last herself. M. de la Fayette had succeeded in forming a double file of National Guards from each side of the coach door to the door of the palace. The King and his Sister, his Daughter, and the Dauphin, carried in the arms of some gentlemen, passed through very quickly and safely. As the Queen was going out of the carriage, the Viscount de Noailles and the Duke d'Aiguillon, presented themselves to receive her, and offered their hands. The appearance of these gentlemen on such an occasion was not very encouraging; for, besides the part they had taken

in the Revolution, the Queen knew that she was immediately the object of their hatred. At first she imagined they were come to give her up to the people, or, at least, to convey her to a separate prison; and she was confirmed in this opinion when she felt herself raised from the ground, and carried off, almost running, towards the palace. They did not speak a word to her the whole of the time, and she heard only the horrible imprecations of the populace assembled for this sight. Their intention, however, far from being bad, does them honour.

The Assembly, though informed of the King's arrival, thought it became their dignity to appear little engaged with this great event: but they deigned to send a deputation of their members to protect the King on his arrival at the palace. The Duke d'Aiguillon, the Viscount de Noailles, and some others, either through curiosity or a desire of averting the danger they foresaw would attend Their Majesties on their alighting, went to wait for them on the terrace. The popularity they enjoyed from their known sentiments enabled them to make their way, and they, no doubt, thought it would be the means of their being more useful than others: as soon as they had lodged the Queen safely in the palace, they took leave

of her. An apprehension, the most distressing she had hitherto felt, now rose in her mind: she did not find her son in the King's apartments, and remained a considerable time before she saw or heard any thing of him; she dreaded his having perished in the tumult, or that he was to be separated from her. It appeared, however, that he had been merely taken to his own apartment to rest, as he was brought to her in the course of the day.

Meanwhile the Assembly debated what was to be done in the present circumstances. They had, early in the morning, passed a decree, the first article of which was as follows: *As soon as the King arrives at the palace of the Thuilleries, there shall be given to him provisionally* A GUARD, *who, under the command of the Commandant General of the Parisian National Guard, shall attend to his safety,* AND ANSWER FOR HIS PERSON. By two other articles *a particular guard* was also decreed *for the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, and another for the Queen.* By the fourth it was ordered, that *all who had accompanied the Royal Family in their flight should be put under arrest and examined,* that *the King and Queen should be heard in their declarations,* and *the whole without delay, in order that the Assembly might take such resolu-*

tions as should be judged necessary. By the fifth and sixth articles, *the King was provisionally suspended from the functions of Royalty.* Lastly, the seventh enjoined the Minister of the Interior *to cause this decree to be forthwith published by the sound of the trumpet in every quarter of the Capital.*

The *responsibility* in this decree, published with so much parade, and which was no longer confined to the commander, but extended to *every soldier of the guard,* frightened three-fourths of the Parisian Militia, from among whom the guard was to be formed; nor could the best of them, either officers or soldiers, reconcile themselves to it. They had just seen M. de la Fayette surrounded in the square before the *Hôtel de Ville,* and the fatal lamp-iron prepared for him; and they declared to him, *that they would not run the risk that he had done.*

For several days not a single officer could be found who would take the charge of *the Queen's particular guard,* without the liberty of watching even in her Majesty's chamber.

M. Gouvion himself, second in command of the National Guards, over whom the King and

Queen thought they had more influence than over M. de la Fayette, declared; " That he would " not continue on duty in the Thuilleries, unless " he were left absolute master to employ every " caution he thought proper, and particularly to " block up several doors within the palace."— To this the King consented, that M. Gouvion might remain.

Every night deputations from suspicious sections came to the palace to be satisfied themselves of the precautions taken. At the same instant that some were watching the King and Queen to be certain they were not fled, others were watching M. de la Fayette to inform him that they were flying. In short, knowing all that the people had dreamed of plans for escaping and of plots, before the journey to Varennes, we may imagine what must have been the case after, and how favourable an opportunity the ill disposed had to seduce the weak.

Was M. de la Fayette in the number of the one or the other? Are we to believe his friends who have painted him, as forced, by a dreadful necessity, and with a view to the safety of the Royal Family, into an apparent rigour, by which he meant to allay the suspicions of the people?

Are we to think, with severer judges, that, infatuated by his patriotic vision, he dared to believe the King guilty of having fled, and to look upon himself as the minister of national justice? or, that being so unjust as to blame the Monarch with whom so many oaths had been violated, he was ungenerous enough to determine to revenge himself for the danger into which he had been thrown by the manner in which the august prisoners had eluded his vigilance? This is a question which I shall not take upon me to decide, but on which the Queen never had a doubt. Be the motive what it may, in fact, the following unexampled cautions were the consequences of this general ferment, and they seem to have been calculated not only to remove every means of flight, but also to make the illustrious captives sensible of all the horrors of their prison.

A numerous guard was stationed in the courts, and an absolute camp pitched in the garden, with tents and every thing necessary in an encampment of soldiers. The garden was shut to the public, and even to the Deputies of the Assembly, M. de la Fayette pretending that he could not exclude the Sections, whose irruptions would be terrible, without also excluding the Deputies whose visits were useless. All persons were forbidden

to enter the palace but those on duty, and even these were searched going in and coming out. Centinels were placed upon the very roofs of the palace. But all this was nothing compared to the watch kept within. The Queen was guarded in the following manner: the chambers next to her apartments were so many guard-rooms. Next her bed-chamber was a *garderobe*, so dark, that, even in day time, it was necessary to have it lighted; before it there was a small landing place, which led to a private stair-case, the only back-way out of her apartments. Two centinels were posted on this landing that was separated from her only *garderobe* by a single glass-door. There were two guards constantly in her bed-chamber, where she generally staid, with orders not to lose sight of her day or night. It is true, that these were officers of the National Guard, but it is well known what kind of men most of them were. At first, for some days, the Queen was obliged to go to bed, to rise, and to dress, before her guards, who literally passed the night in her chamber. Soon after, however, M. de la Fayette, whether conscious himself of the indecency of these orders, and having allayed the apprehensions of his guards, or, from the King's having spoken to him on the subject, he relaxed the severity of them; but how? As long as the Queen

was up the guards remained in her chamber, but retired when she thought proper to go to bed and while she continued in it. Still one of them took his station in the space formed by the thickness of the wall between the outer and inner door of the chamber; in a manner, however, to see whatever passed, as the inner one was always left a-jar. This modification was rather less shocking, but did not secure the Queen from the insolent familiarity of her guards. Once as she lay in bed, not being able to sleep, she lighted a taper by a night lamp standing at her bed-side, and took a book to read. The guard observing it, went into the chamber, opened her curtains, and familiarly seating himself on the bed by her, said: "*I see* "*you cannot sleep. Let us chat together: it* "*will be better for you than reading.*" The Queen repressed her indignation, and mildly gave him to understand that he was not to disturb her. Resigned to her fate, and determined to dissemble to the last, she disdained either to complain of this excessive and humiliating severity, or to reproach M. de la Fayette, whom she frequently saw: for he even affected to come oftener than there was occasion. Her Majesty was polite to him, though cold; and she spoke to him not only without sourness but even with ease, on indifferent subjects, or on what concerned the King.

Notwithstanding the strictness with which they were watched, the King and Queen found means to keep up an intercourse with some of their friends out of the palace, by which means they were always informed of what was passing relative to themselves.

A few days after their arrival in Paris, the business of their flight took a happier turn than their friends had dared to hope, considering the ferment of the public, and the inclination hitherto displayed by the Assembly to push every advantage they gained over the King as far as it would go. However, this passage of history, which must be very interesting if written by one well-informed, does not form a part of my plan: I shall therefore conclude the account of the journey to Varennes, by observing that, in spite of the clamours of the Jacobins and the passive conduct of the *Côté Droit* of the Assembly, the leaders of the majority of the *Côté Gauche* concluded this important affair as promptly and as ably as circumstances would allow. They saw clearly that the object of the Jacobins was to take advantage of this occasion, not only to ruin the King, but to put an end also to royalty and to establish a free republic on its ruins: they were terrified at the abyss before them, and, to avoid

it, turned short to what they called the party of indulgence. In consequence, they caused a report to be drawn up by their committee to this effect; that the King was not guilty for intending to go off, and, that even if he were, he could not be tried for it, on account of his inviolability; that as soon as the constitution was completed (it was then drawing to a conclusion) he should be called upon to accept it, and be put in possession effectively of all the prerogatives of the executive power; that the only person guilty of the King's flight was M. de Bouillé, who appeared to be the principal agent in it, as he had himself avowed in his famous letter written to the Assembly on his leaving France; that M. de Choiseul, who had seconded him, and M. de Goguelas, should be sent to Orleans to be tried by the National High Court; that M. de Damas should remain under arrest at Paris; and that, as for the Gardes du Corps who accompanied the King, their obedience to his orders could not be imputed to them as a crime, and, consequently, that they should be set at liberty.

The Duke de Choiseul and M. de Goguelas were conveyed to Orleans, where they underwent some examinations; but the business was purposely protracted till the acceptance of the con-

stitution; and that occasion being taken to proclaim a general amnesty of revolutionary crimes, these gentlemen obtained their liberty with all the other prisoners.

Maria-Antoinetta, during her imprisonment, did not belie the greatness of her mind. When the three commissioners, whom the Assembly had appointed to receive the declarations of the King and Queen, presented themselves before Their Majesties, the King added to his declaration, that the governess of his son and the ladies in waiting were not apprised of their departure until a very short time before it was effected; an observation made by His Majesty to save those ladies from the danger to which they were exposed. The Queen made the following dignified declaration:

" I declare that the King having wished to set
" out with his children, no consideration could
" have deterred me from accompanying him. I
" have given sufficient proof for the last two
" years, on various occasions, that I never would
" separate myself from him. I was more strongly

" confirmed in this determination, from the assur-
" ance which had been given me that the King
" did not intend to leave the kingdom: had it
" been his wish, all my influence would have
" been exerted to have dissuaded him from it.

" The governess of my son had been ill during
" three weeks, and only received her orders im-
" mediately before the journey, of the destina-
" tion of which she was entirely ignorant. She
" did not take with her any of her clothes, and I
" was obliged to supply her with my own.

" The three couriers neither knew the desti-
" nation nor the motive of the journey. Money
" was given to them on the road to pay for the
" horses and orders for the rout we were to take.
" The two ladies in waiting were not informed
" of our departure but at the moment of our
" setting off; and one of them, whose husband
" is in the palace, could not see him before she
" came away.

" Monsieur and Madame were to join us in
" France; the reason of their entering a foreign
" territory was to facilitate the means of escape,
" and to prevent the want of horses on the road.

" We passed through the apartment of M. de " Villequier, having taken the precaution to " leave the palace separately, and at short in- " tervals.

(Signed) " MARIA-ANTOINETTA."

It was a friend of Barnave, M. Muguet de Nanthon, who reported the event relating to the flight of Their Majesties, and who brought forward the question of the competency of the Assembly to bring the King to trial. He gave his opinion that it was not, and threw all the blame of the King's flight on M. de Bouillé and other persons who had been concerned with him, and moved that all of them should be tried; he named

Messieurs

de Bouillé,	Count de Fersen,
de Heyman,	de Bouillé fils,
de Klinglin,	D'Offelize,
Chevalier de Damas,	Dandouins,
de Goguelas,	Talon,
Desoteux,	de Maldan,
de Raigecourt,	de Valory,
de Mandel,	Dumoutier,
Duke of Choiseul,	Manaisen.

We have already named those who were accused by the Assembly. In the debate on the inviolability of the King, the only adversaries of Lewis XVI. were Pethion, Burot, Prieur, Vadier, the vicar Grégoire, Robespierre, and Hébrard.

The Jacobins, during this discussion, wished to excite a popular insurrection to demand the abdication of the King. An officer, named Achille Duchâtelet, was at that time the editor of a journal, in which, in the most vehement language, he called for a republic, and the trial of Lewis XVI. and Maria-Antoinetta. La Clos, the Duke of Orleans' Secretary, drew up a petition demanding the abdication. The day having been fixed for the people to sign this petition on the altar of the country, at the Champ-de-Mars, Sunday was chosen, in order to increase their numbers. It was found necessary to call out the military to disperse the assemblages which this union of the factions had collected, of whom thirty were killed at the Champ-de-Mars by the National Guards. The Jacobins never forgave the staff of those guards for their conduct on that day, M. Bailly, who proclaimed martial law, nor the members of the Committee of Constitution; all of whom, two years afterwards, they

brought to the scaffold, as the authors of the murder of the patriots. Truth requires me to say that the National Guards, on that occasion, made every effort to avoid the effusion of blood; and when, after being assailed with showers of stones, they did fire, it was entirely in their own defence*. The first discharge, however, instantly dispersed all those mobs. I happened to be at that time opposite to the Ecole Militaire, and witnessed the immediate and general dispersion of that vile rabble.

The National Assembly, surfeited with the disgusts and humiliations heaped upon them by the people, ashamed of the evil they had committed, and stung with their own remorse, at length decreed that they would dissolve themselves on the 30th of September. They had appointed a Committee of Revision, to examine the articles of the constitution, which the Committee neglected to do; they were so much ashamed of their own ridiculous work, that they took little

* M. de la Fayette, on this occasion escaped being shot by a pistol fired at him by a man named Fournier, an American, and who was, afterwards, one of the authors of the massacre of the prisoners in Orleans. The guards had seized him, but M. de la Fayette ordered him to be released.

interest in its preservation. A new legislative assembly was convened, in which no member of the National Assembly was allowed to sit. Those second elections took place under the most unfavourable auspices. The principles of most of the members returned, were known to be detestable; and it was to this new senate, so composed, that the King and the Court were to be delivered up without defence or precaution! The constitution was presented to the King, who unconditionally accepted it, without offering a single remark on its numerous imperfections.

The first time that the King went out after his return from Varennes, was to repair to the Assembly, in order, *vivâ voce*, to give his adhesion to the act called *constitutional*, and to affix his signature to it. A seat had been prepared for him with some degree of state, but on the same line with the President of the Assembly, M. Thouret, whose disrespectful behaviour was conspicuous, on an occasion when it was so important to restore to Royal Majesty all those demonstrations of deference and respect of which it had been stripped. Lewis XVI. demanded a decree of amnesty in favour of those who had aided his flight to Varennes, which was granted amidst general acclamations.

A solemn *Te Deum*, brilliant illuminations, and splendid fêtes celebrated this event. The King and Queen appeared at them, and were much applauded; but Robespierre and Pethion, their most inveterate enemies, at the conclusion of the last sitting, were carried in triumph by the populace, who bestowed on the one the appellation of *incorruptible*, and on the other that of *virtuous*; a sufficient indication of the disposition of the multitude towards that unfortunate Prince, of the fate which the demagogues reserved for him, and in which his family were doomed to be involved.

End of the First Part of the Second Volume.

NOTES

AND

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

CHAPTER IV.

Page 10, line 18.

LAMETH *(Theodore de)*, a Colonel of Cavalry and President of the Department of Jura, and Deputy of that Department to the Legislative Body. Of all the families of the court, the ingratitude of the Lameths during the Revolution, was the most conspicuous. They were four brothers, who, by the Queen's benevolence, had been drawn from obscurity. Her liberality placed them above mediocrity; she provided herself for their education, promoted their fortune, and at the commencement of the troubles, they had all attained a certain rank in the army. Ambition, however, soon armed them against their benefactress, and, regardless of the counsels of their mother,* they eagerly connected themselves with all the factions, hoping thereby to become the chiefs of some of them, and to satisfy their inordinate ambition.

* This respectable lady was sister of the Marshal de Broglie, and it was she who procured for her children the notice, and, afterwards, the favour of their sovereigns.

The Marquis de Lameth, the eldest, was the only one who did not side against the court, and was almost a cypher in the Revolution.

LAMETH *(Charles de)*, a Colonel of Cavalry, a Constitutional Major General, and Deputy of the Noblesse d'Artois to the States General. After having served in America, he was appointed, on his return, Colonel *en second*, and afterwards Colonel of the regiment of Cuirassiers; and the Queen, who patronised him more than his other brothers, promoted his marriage with Mademoiselle Picot, the daughter of a rich planter of St. Domingo.

Deputed in 1789 to the States General, he shewed himself an inveterate enemy of the court, became one of the zealous members of the Jacobins, and was particularly noticed for his quarrelsome disposition, which, joined to his inconsistent speeches, occasioned him to be called *Brise-raison*. As if Lameth was afraid of only appearing ungrateful by halves, he seized every opportunity to combat the royal prerogative. In September, 1789, he opposed the granting of the *Veto* to the King; in April 1790, he proposed depriving him of the right of pardon; and he afterwards spoke against the motion for declaring the Catholic Religion the Religion of the State. During the first years of the Revolution, he fought several duels, in consequence of political discussions, and in his first, which he fought with the Duke of Castries, the Duke wounded him with his sword. The two brothers (Charles and Alexander) have become prefects under the present government.

LAMETH *(Alexandre de)*, a Knight of Malta and Gentilhomme to the Count d'Artois, and Deputy of the Noblesse of Peronne to the States General. He served in the American War as aid-de-camp to M. de Rochambeau, and on his return, was promoted to the rank of colonel. On becoming a member of the States General, he embraced the revolutionary party with more consistency, and apparently with less warmth than his brother.

He proposed, on the 10th of August, to mortgage the estates of the clergy to the creditors of the state; on the 29th, he spoke on the organization of the two powers, and argued on the necessity of controuling the executive power. In March, 1790, he moved that the symbolical statues, which were at the feet of Lewis XIV. in the square *des Victoires*, should be taken away; and on the 15th of May, he was the first who brought forward the question whether the right of making peace and declaring war should be granted to the King. Having emigrated with M. de la Fayette, his brother and himself exerted themselves to be erased from the list of emigrants, and having succeeded in April 1800, they returned to the republic.

Page 14, line 4.

Mirabeau. In order to form an accurate judgment of that Coryphæus of the Revolution, it is sufficient to read his Memoirs, and the writings of the Marquis of Mirabeau, his father.

A person having one day said to him: Count, are you not fearful of the consequences of your undertaking? He answered: *Why should I, when honest men are the only party against us!* On the declaration of the 23d of June, so clearly manifesting the intentions of the virtuous Lewis XVI., and which will attach an eternal stigma on the seditious, Mirabeau immediately effaced the impresssion it had made, by observing: *it was true, that the measures proposed would be productive of good, but that it was the province of the National Assembly, and not of the King, to bring forward such measures.* It was he also who, under the pretence of repelling the brigands, caused all the inhabitants of the kingdom, by one common impulse, to take up arms on the same day: his death, however, may be considered as a misfortune for France, if it be true, as it has been said, that he had in good faith gone over to the party of the King. The Jacobins have been strongly suspected of having shortened his days.

Page 15, line 23.

NECKER, the son of the Master of a College of Geneva. His first employment was that of clerk to Mr. Thelusson, a Banker at Paris, and afterwards became his partner. His fortune, in the course of fifteen years, surpassed that of the richest banking-houses. Very suspicious speculations in the English funds and East-India stock, immediately preceding the peace of 1763, of which he was previously informed, laid the foundation of that fortune, which from the most moderate calculations, was computed at £250,000 sterling. His works having gained him the reputation of a skilful financier, he was appointed Controller General of the Finances. Born a republican, a plebeian and a calvinist, he retained, even in the ministry, all the little hatreds, and narrow prejudices, which, in these three characters, he had imbibed in his infancy. Those who have observed him with impartiality, have remarked, that the desire of humbling the great, and of ruining the catholic clergy, formed a part of all his plans, and all his projects, and that frequently without his being conscious of it himself; and the obstacles which his origin and religion sometimes opposed to his advancement, served only to increase that propensity by thwarting his ambitious views. He may be considered as one of the principal causes of the Revolution, although he aimed only at extending his popular influence, and acquiring an ascendency over the King and the kingdom. He died at his estate of Copet near Geneva, in April, 1804.

Page 25, line 21.

SIÈYES *(Emmanuel-Joseph)*, Abbot, vicaire-général of the bishoprick of Chartres, canon and chancellor of the Church of that City, *conseiller commissaire* to the chamber of the Church of France, and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of Paris to the States General, born at Draguignan in Provence, in 1748. He was connected with d'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, &c. &c., and was a member of their political society, but had embraced and professed his plans

of disorganisation before the commencement of the Revolution; and some pamphlets, indifferently written, but abounding in metaphysical subtlety, paved the way to his nomination, in 1789, by the Tiers-Etat. Obstinate and despotic in his ideas, but timid to an excess, and still more cowardly than passionate, he was successively the soul or the obsequious tool of the different factions he served, and survived them all. In the first troubles of the Revolution, he seemed to attach himself to the Orleans faction; and in the evidence that was taken at the Châtelet, relative to the events of the 5th and 6th October, the Count de la Châtre deposed having heard him answer a person who was informing him that Paris was agitated: *I know it, but I comprehend nothing of the business: things advance in a wrong direction.* Always keeping aloof during troubles which he had himself frequently excited, the conqueror was always sure to see him enlist under his banners. He is now condemned to a state of insignificancy, having been banished to the Sénat Conservateur.

Page 41, line 18.

MONTMORIN-SAINT-HEREM *(Armand-Marc, Comte de)*, minister and secretary of state for the foreign department. He was a member of the assembly of Notables held at Versailles, in 1787, and was minister for foreign affairs at the opening of the States-General. He was arrested by a decree of the 22d of August, and confined in the prison of the Abbaye, and was one of the victims of the massacres of the prisons, on the 2d of September, 1792.

SAINT-PRIEST *(Franc. Emmanuel Guignard, Comte de)*, minister of state, in the department of the King's household in 1789, and formerly ambassador of Constantinople. The revolutionary party expected at one time to bring him over to them; and having been dismissed by the King, together with M. Necker, in the commotions of July, 1789, he was immediately recalled by the influence of the National Assembly. But this mark of esteem did not lessen his attachment to Lewis XVI., and consequently did not

prevent his being denounced by Mirabeau, who accused him of having said on the 5th October to the women who were demanding bread at Versailles: *You did not want it when you had but one King, go and ask it of your* 1200 *sovereigns.* The sudden hatred of the popular party against M. de St. Priest, was occasioned by the communications he made to the president of the assembly concerning the manœuvres of the confidential intriguers of the Palais Royal. He was accused by the committee of enquiry of treason against the nation. Tired of these broils, he gave in his resignation on the 23d December, 1790, and quitted France some time after.

Page 59, line 55.

M. DE JUIGNE *(Antoine-Eléonore-Léon-Leclerc de)*, Archbishop of Paris, Duke of St. Cloud, Peer of France, and Deputy of the Clergy of Paris to the States General. He was formerly bishop of Châlons sur Marne, and it was his piety alone which induced Lewis XVI. to call him to Paris in 1789, on the death of M. de Beaumont who filled that see before him. His virtues and liberalities (during the winter of 1788 to 89 he distributed in the capital £17,000 in charity) rendering him in some degree formidable to the leaders of the Revolution, by the influence he might have been able to exercise over the people, they endeavoured to render him odious, on the convocation of the States General, by painting him as the chief of the opposition in the Chamber of the Clergy; a part which he was disqualified for acting, no less from his mild disposition, than from his age and want of means. A party, at the head of which was Bouche and several other deputies, endeavoured, as it appeared, to have him assassinated at Versailles in July, 1789; he was assailed by the populace, and obliged to take refuge in the Church of St. Lewis. After his order had joined that of the Tiers-Etat, he conducted himself with that moderation, and sometimes even with that weakness, with which men of worth are too often inspired by a love of peace and a disposition to conciliate parties. At the end of 1790 he withdrew to Savoy, and there published a

mandate against the oath which was then required of the priests. The French papers circulated afterwards a report of his death, but he removed to Germany in 1792, where he continued to render the most essential services to the priests who had emigrated or had been obliged to leave the kingdom. He returned to France in 1803, and is now one of the six canons of the Abbey of St. Denis.

Page 60, line 18.

M. Bailly *(Jean-Sylvain)*, born at Paris in 1734, one of the 40 of the French Academy, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, of the Institute of Boulogne, of the Academies at Stockholm and Haerlem, &c. &c., a learned man, a pure and elegant writer, an author of excellent works, amongst others of the *History of the Astronomy of Ancient and Modern Nations*, and of *Inquiries concerning the Atlantides*. In the sitting of the 3d of June, he was elected president of his order, with the title of Doyen, or senior; he was likewise the first who presided in the National Assembly. His probity rendered him the dupe of his self-love and his philosophical principles.

Bailly had the courage, during the trial of Maria-Antoinetta, to protest that all the charges brought against that princess were false. Three weeks afterwards, he perished himself on the revolutionary scaffold, on the 11th of November, 1793. A recital of the sufferings he was made to endure, is shocking to humanity; and the magnanimity he displayed in his last moments will efface the remembrance of the errors he committed during the sittings of the National Assembly.

Page 67, line 7.

Besenval *(Baron de)*, lieutenant-general of the armies of the King of France, Grand Cross of the order of St. Lewis, inspector general of the Swiss and Grisons, commander in chief of the provinces of the interior of the Kingdom, and lieutenant colonel of the Swiss Guards. He rendered essential services to the city of Paris by facilitating the supply of provisions, particularly in 1789.

He was employed in the army which the King had ordered to be assembled in the environs of Paris, at the commencement of the Revolution, and he wrote to M. de Launay, governor of the Bastile, to desire him to defend that city, promising him succours. This conduct having brought upon him the hatred of the people, he provided himself with passports and left Paris, but was arrested at Villenaux. M. Necker wrote to the Municipality to procure his release, but his request not having been complied with, he applied to the Municipality of Paris, who immediately ordered M. de Besenval to be set at liberty. The districts, who were dissatisfied with this order, caused the prisoner to be first removed to Brie-Comte-Robert, and afterwards to Paris, where he was tried by the Châtelet and declared innocent. He died soon after his trial.

Page 67, line 11.

LAMBESC (*Charles de Lorraine, Prince de*) master of the horse and proprietary colonel of the regiment of Royal Allemand. Having held a command, in July 1789, in the army which the King at that time had ordered to be assembled near Paris, he repaired to the Champs Elisées at the head of his regiment, and dispersed the mob who had collected there in great numbers; but not having been supported, he retired on the approach of a body of the French Guards, who had joined the rebels. The committee of enquiry immediately denounced him as one of the agents of the *royal conspiracy*, and accused him of having killed an old man and wounded a young one. All those accusations, ridiculous in every point of view (as a commanding officer can never be responsible for what happens in quelling a riot) were afterwards acknowledged by the Châtelet to be false, who exculpated him. He had then withdrawn to Germany, and his regiment, by whom he was soon followed, served in 1792 in the army of the Princes, brothers of Lewis XVI. This brave officer, the descendant of a house from which so many great men have sprung, has not ceased to give to the Royal Family proofs of his attachment and unshaken fidelity.

In 1793, this prince entered the service of the Emperor, was appointed major-general, and in 1796, lieutenant field marshal. He was almost constantly employed in the Austrian army during the war of the French Revolution, and served in 1800 on the Rhine.

Page 67, line 14.

BROGLIE *(Victor-François, Duc de)*, Marshal of France, knight of the orders, and Prince of the Holy Empire. He commanded the French armies with much success in the seven years war, and high encomiums are passed on this general in all the histories of this war, written by foreigners. In 1789, he was sent for from the three bishopricks, where he commanded, to put himself at the head of the army which the King intended to assemble between Versailles and Paris in order to maintain tranquillity during the sittings of the States General. Amidst the troubles which occasioned the dissolution of that body, M. de Broglie was appointed minister at war; but he only continued in office a few days and withdrew to Luxembourg.

Having been informed of the measures taken by his son, to obtain a delay before he was struck off from the list of the marshals of France, he wrote from Treves disavowing those measures, and professing in his letter the most profound contempt for the Assembly. He could never be prevailed upon to return to France, and died in Germany, in the year 1806, above 80 years of age, honoured for his virtues and the glory he had acquired.

Page 71, line 9.

BRETEUIL *(Baron de)*, minister and secretary of state for the department of Paris. He was president of the Council of Finance in July 1789, at the time of M. Necker's retreat. Having been accused by the revolutionary party of having suggested to the King the project of burning Paris, the National Assembly pronounced a decree of accusation against him; but he emigrated. He has since returned to France, having procured his amnesty.

Page 71, line 9.

• FOULON, counsellor of state and chancellor of the order of St. Lewis, an old man above seventy years of age. He had been intendant of the French army during the war of 1756. The factions availed themselves of expressions he was said to have used against the people, in order to render him one of the first victims of the Revolution, and his son in law M. Berthier, intendant of Paris.

Page 71, line 10.

LA PORTE *(Arnaud de)*, intendant of the navy at Brest, before the Revolution, and intendant of the civil list in 1790 and 91. In this last office he shewed the most constant and disinterested attachment for the person of Lewis XVI. It was he who, on the 21st of June 1791, delivered to the National Assembly the declaration which that Prince had made before he set out for Varennes. Involved in the destruction of the King, he was imprisoned on the 11th of August, and condemned to die on the 20th by the criminal tribunal of Paris, as one of the agents of the conspiracy of Lewis and his family against the French people in the day of the 10th of August. Even his enemies were affected by the courage with which he died, shewing on the scaffold, not that firmness which self-love inspires, but the calm which conscious virtue gives. *Citizens,* said he to the spectators on ascending the scaffold, *I die innocent; may my death restore peace to my country!* He was 49 years of age. During the trial of Lewis XVI, he was mentioned as having remitted, by the orders of that prince, sums of money to different emigrants, and having written a great many letters to the King, expressive of the warmest attachment to his person.

Page 73, line 26.

DESMOULINS *(Benoît Camille)*, advocate of parliament, born at Guise in Picardy in 1762, son of the lieutenant-general of the Bailiwick of Guise, and descendant of the celebrated jurisconsult

Charles Desmoulins. He commenced his career at the bar by pleading against his father, whom he wished to oblige to make him a larger allowance than his circumstances would admit, and he never forgave him for having once said that he aimed at the scaffold. In the early part of the Revolution, he connected himself with Robespierre, and not satisfied with corrupting the public mind by a journal almost as silly as it was ridiculous (the Revolutions of France and of Brabant), in which he styled himself *the attorney-general of the Lamp-post*, but he likewise harangued the people at the Palais Royal, and became in a manner the president and first director of the groups of the capital. Constantly surrounded by a crowd of *orators* whom he had attached to him, he concerted with them the taking of the Bastile. On the 12th of July 1789 (two days prior to that event) he harangued with two pistols in his hand; and his voice falling short of his rage, he cried out at intervals, *to arms! to arms!* with all the agitation of a madman. He concluded by proposing that a distinguishing cockade should be worn, and a green one was adopted, which was soon replaced by that with three colours. Having been denounced in 1791 to the Constituent Assembly on account of the virulent attacks against the King, contained in his paper, he was warmly defended by all the Jacobins. On the 11th of December he denounced in his turn the Municipality of Paris, for having presented an address to the King, praying him not to sanction the decree which had been passed against the refractory priests. He was one of the founders of the club of the Cordeliers, and connected himself at the same time intimately with Danton and remained constantly attached to him. After the flight of Lewis XVI. to Varennes (in June 1791) he was one of the instigators of the assemblage at the Champ-de-Mars, where a petition was drawn up, the purport of which went to declare that that prince was supposed to have abdicated; this measure and the language he wrote against the law of the 26th of July, in the same year, caused a decree of arrest to be passed against him; and he was obliged for some time to remain concealed. He afterwards made himself conspicuous in the insurrection of the 20th of June, 1790, which prepared the fall of the monarchy, and

particularly in that of the 10th of August, which completed it. Having organised, together with Danton, the massacres of September, 1792, he said to Prudhomme the day after those horrible executions: "Well! every thing was done in the greatest order; the people has even set at liberty many aristocrats." These phrases, pronounced in cold blood, leave no room to doubt what part he acted in those massacres he had already foretold as early as the 30th of August, saying in a coffee-house with Fabre: "We have "taken such great measures as will insure the safety of France." This unprincipled man, this violent Cordelier, sold to the Orleans faction, was executed on the 5th of April 1794; he was one of the most infamous and sanguinary promoters of the Revolution.

Page 74, line 5.

A Coffee-house called Café de Foi.
Another called, Café du Caveau.

Page 74, line 26.

BERTHIER *(Alexandre)*, a general of division in the service of the French Republic. He was son and assistant of the governor of the Hôtel de la Guerre. Having been placed at an early period of life on the staff of the army, he served in that establishment in America and obtained the rank of colonel. The high military rank he has since attained is generally known.

Page 83, line 11.

SOMBREUIL *(François-Charles de Virot de)*, major-general and governor of the invalids.

This old man, 74 years of age, shewed much courage and attachment to the King in the difficult part which he occupied at the commencement of the Revolution, and his firmness inspired the people for a long time with veneration; but he was at length arrested after the 10th August 1792, and confined in the prison of

the Abbaye, where he would have been massacred in September, but for the devotion of his daughter; she forced her way amidst the assassins, and kneeling with tears in her eyes, and wild with grief, implored his pardon of the people, who, moved by so much heroism, allowed her to carry away her father from that scene of carnage. But what had been able to melt savage executioners and a frantic mob, made no impression on tyrants: M. de Sombreuil was brought shortly afterwards before the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned to death on the 29th of June, 1793, as a conspirator and accomplice of the assassination of Collot d'Herbois, and carried to the scaffold in a red shirt. He was born at Insisheim in Alsace.

Page 85, line 5.

M. DE FLESSELLES, Counsellor of State, formerly intendant of Lyons, and prévôt des marchands of the city of Paris, one of the victims of the Revolution. He had not the talents requisite to fill such a post, at so critical a period. On the 14th July, 1789, the day of taking of the Bastile, he hoped to save himself by tergiversation; thus by endeavouring to please both parties, he became suspicious to both. The popular faction already accused him of treason; a letter of his was found, or pretended to be found, about M. Launay, governor of the Bastile, in which he exhorted him to defend himself, announcing to him speedy assistance; and nothing more was necessary to determine on his destruction. On being menaced at the Hôtel-de-ville, he attempted to fly to his house, promising to justify himself; but he fell from a pistol shot, was immediately covered with wounds, and his head cut off and carried along the streets with that of M. de Launay.

Page 92, line 6.

TARGET, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, Counsellor in the Sovereign Council, and one of the 40 of the French Academy. He was considered before the Revolution one of the best advocates in Paris, and his writings, which he published at that period,

induced that order to elect him deputy of the *prévôté* of Paris to the States-General. He is one of those men whose hypocrisy has been unmasked by the Revolution. After having been judge in all the newly created tribunals, he died in the year 1806.

LALLY-TOLENDAL *(le Comte de)*, son of the Count of Lally, Governor of Pondicherry, and captain in the regiment of Cuirassiers. He had already made himself known by his eloquent and pathetic pleadings in defence of his father's memory. He returned to France, on the treaty of peace with England, and still remains there.

Page 93, line 3.

VIRIEUX *(François-Henry Comte de)*, colonel of the regiment of Limousin, and deputy of the noblesse of Dauphiné to the States-General. He defended Lyons, in 1793, and was killed at some leagues from that city, after the troops of the National Convention had entered it.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT *(Louis Alexandre Duc de)*, and de la Roche-Guyon, Peer of France, and deputy of the noblesse of Paris to the States-General. His presumption and imbecility rendered him one of the victims of the revolutionary party, which he was amongst the first to embrace.

Page 93, line 9.

CLERMONT TONNERRE *(Stanislas Comte de)*, deputy of the noblesse of Paris to the States General; assassinated, on the 10th of August, in a house of the section of the Croix Rouge.

Page 93, line 12.

GRÉGOIRE *(de la Meurthe)*, curate of Imberménil, and deputy of the Bailiwick of Nancy to the States General. An

audacious ecclesiastic who, in dishonouring himself, did his utmost to dishonour the clergy. He was a constitutional bishop for a short period, and is now a member of the sénat conservateur.

Page 93, line 16.

LEFRANC DE POMPIGNAN. *(Jean-Georges)*, archbishop of Vienne, and deputy of the clergy of Dauphiné to the States General. A valuable writer, who, had he died before the Revolution, would have carried with him the reputation of an irreproachable prelate. He died during the time of the sittings of the National Assembly.

Page 95, line 10.

FAYETTE *(M. R. J. R. Y. G. Motier Marq. de la)*, major-general and deputy of the noblesse of Riom in Auvergne to the States General of 1789. M. de la Fayette is justly considered by all parties as one of the most guilty personages of the Revolution; and the atrocious ingratitude with which he repaid the numberless favours of his sovereigns, has rendered him odious even to those who profited by the unfeeling cruelty with which he sacrificed the powerful protectors to whom alone he was indebted for every thing. He was in other respects unequal to the part he wished to act. Having returned to France during the war of the Revolution, he continues to vegetate there in the most complete obscurity.

Page 95, line 19.

LA LUZERNE *(le Marq. de)*, minister of the marine at the commencement of the Revolution. He was dismissed and recalled with M. Necker, during the first troubles of the capital; and although it was the National Assembly who had obliged the King to re-appoint him to the ministry, they soon began to persecute him. In October, 1790, the National Assembly having declared that M. de la Luzerne had lost the confidence of the nation, he immediately resigned. He died in Germany, whither he emigrated after the 2d of September.

Page 97, line 6.

CHAMPION DE CICÉ *(Jérôme-Marie)*, archbishop of Bordeaux. In 1789, he was deputy of the clergy of the Sénéchaussee of that city to the States General, and was one of the first of his order who went over to the Chamber of the Tiers. On the 27th of July, 1789, he made a long report, in the name of the Committee of the Constitution, on the Rights of Man, and on the form to be given to the Legislative Body. He was persecuted by the revolutionary party, and emigrated, but did not agree with the prelates, his colleagues, who had quitted France. He returned to France at the time of the Concordat, and was appointed archbishop of Aix in the new church.

Page 97, line 18.

NOAILLES *(Louis Vicomte de)*, Grand Bailli d'Epée, a Colonel of the Chasseurs of Alsace, and deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Nemours to the States General. This young man, endued with a good understanding, of ardent temper, and an active turn of mind, unmindful of all that his family owed to the Court, embraced the revolutionary party, and, at the first opening of the States General, declared himself in favour of the union of the three orders. It was also he who, in the night of the 4th of August, urged the clergy and the nobility to renounce their privileges, and was the first promoter of the suppression of feudal rights. After having passed all the time of the troubles of the republican revolution in the United States of America, he was anxious to join his friend general Rochambeau at St. Domingo, where they fought together against the negroes. The renewal of hostilities between England and France in 1803, obliged the French troops to evacuate St. Domingo, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the English. The Vicomte de Noailles commanded at that time at Cape Nicolas Mole, and was so fortunate as to escape the British cruizers, and arrive at the Havannah. There he embarked on board a privateer, and fell miserably in an engagement with an English privateer.

Page 97, line 19.

WIMPFEN *(Félix de)*, formerly a colonel of dragoons, and deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Caen to the States General. During the reign of terror, he commanded for a short time the insurgents in Normandy, and has since lived obscurely on his estates.

Page 104, line 12.

LIANCOURT *(de Larochefoucault d'Estissac, duc de)*, Grand Master of the King's wardrobe and knight of his orders, and deputy of the noblesse of Clermont en Beauvoisis to the States General. Having emigrated after the massacres of 1792, he made a long tour in the United States of America, an account of which he has published in 8 volumes. He afterwards returned to France, and succeeded in having his name erased from the list of emigrants.

Page 106, line 16.

CUSTINES *(Addm-Philippe, Comte de)*, born at Metz on the 4th of February, 1740. He entered the service early in life, and served during a part of the seven years' war as major in the King's regiment of foot. Under the patronage of the Duke of Choiseul, he afterwards raised a regiment of dragoons, which he commanded till 1780. In 1789, having been elected deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Metz, he declared himself, in the first sittings, in favour of the popular party. The employments he obtained from that disgraceful measure, only served to manifest his incapacity. After having served the republic without honour, he died on the scaffold without courage, to which he was brought by the party of Robespierre. It has been remarked, that of all the victims of those monsters, Madame du Barry and General Custines alone betrayed their pusillanimity in their last moments.

Page 106, line 16.

SILLERY *(Alexis Brûlard de Genlis, Marq. de)*, Major Gene-

ral, and formerly a colonel of dragoons, and deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Rheims to the States General. This immoral man shewed himself the avowed enemy of Louis XVI.; several witnesses examined by the Châtelet on the events of 5th and 6th of October, 1789, represented him to have been one of the principal persons concerned in the attempts made on those days against the Royal Family; towards the end of 1790, he was the apologist of the mutinous garrison of Nancy, and obtained a repeal of the decree which ordered the guilty to be tried. On the trial of Louis XVI., he voted for the detaining that prince and his family until after the peace, and for his perpetual banishment afterwards. He was included in the proscriptions of the 31st of May, 1st and 2d of June, and condemned to death on the 9th of August, 1793.

Page 106, line 17.

MARGUERITES *(the Baron of)*, first consul and mayor of the city of Nimes, and deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Nimes to the States General. He was guillotined in 1793.

Page 109, line 2.

BARRÈRE DE VIEUZAC *(Bertrand)*, advocate of the parliament of Toulouse, and deputy of the Tiad Etat of the sénéchaussée of Bigore to the States General of 1789. Perhaps the most fanatic and the most dangerous of all the revolutionary orators. Being the organ of the Committee of Public Safety, he became the first minister of Robespierre. He it was who brought forward almost all the laws, and all the measures taken by the tyrant, and he was heard to say, in order to pay his court to him, on a day on which 60 wealthy persons had been executed: *we have just been coining money on the Square of the Revolution, the guillotine is the copper plate of the assignats.* The decrees of the 31st of May, and 1st and 2d of June, 1793 (so perfidiously obscure), which ordered the arresting of suspicious people, and the outlawry of the aristocrats, and which proved a fatal blow to the chiefs of the *Gironde* faction,

were likewise presented by him; he was also the instigator of the decree which gave the Queen up to the revolutionary tribunal, and of another ordering the dispersion of the ashes of the Kings of France, and the destruction of their tombs. In the month of December, 1799, he procured a revocation of the decree by which he was banished; since that time he has lived obscurely at Paris, where his old friends, Cambacérès and Fouché, employ him in the secret police of the press; they would have been ashamed to give him a public employment.

Page 117, line 4.

BARNAVE *(Antoine Jean Marc.)*, advocate of the parliament of Grenoble, and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of that city to the States General of 1789. He died on the scaffold in 1794, after having displayed an uncommon firmness and presence of mind before the revolutionary tribunal. He had sincerely abandoned his first errors, therefore his loss was deeply regretted.

Page 121, line 4.

BOCHARD DE SARON *(T. B. Gaspard)*, president *à mortier* of the parliament of Paris, a celebrated astronomer. This learned academician, this irreproachable magistrate, was included in the decree of proscription which carried off the parliament of Paris *en masse*. He was condemned to death, and executed in the month of April, 1794, at the age of 64 years.

Page 121, line 23.

AIGUILLON *(Vignerod duc d')*, peer of France, colonel of the cavalry regiment of Royal Pologne, and commandant of the King's light horse-guards. He was deputed in 1789 by the noblesse of Agen to the States General, and in the sittings of the 25th of June, he went over with the minority of the noblesse to the Tiers-Etat. In the famous night sitting of the 4th of August, he was the second to provoke the gentilshommes to renounce their privileges. All France was persuaded that he was one of the men disguised as a

woman in the horrid scenes of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; and the investigation instituted by the Châtelet on that subject, confirmed the suspicion. On the 4th of August, he and the Duke of Liancourt, had given a most profuse entertainment to the agents of the revolutionary party. On the 4th of January, he was elected Secretary to the Assembly. After the reading of a letter from the Municipality of Moret, communicating the ill success of their endeavours to oppose the departure of Mesdames the King's aunts, and that they had been obliged to yield to force: the Duc d'Aiguillon moved that the secretary at war should be called upon to state, if he had ordered an escort for Mesdames : " If he has," continued the duke, " I accuse him of having been guilty of a high breach of duty, and of having violated the constitution." After the 10th of August, 1792, the Duc d'Aiguillon emigrated, and resided some time with Messrs. de Lameth in London and Altona, where they carried on a small retail trade. He died in the latter city, in 1799.

Page 121, line 24.

LUYNES *(duc de)*, deputy of the noblesse of Tourraine to the States General. After having lived in France during the whole of the revolution, and preserved his immense fortune, he has accepted a place of Senator.

Page 121, line 24.

PRASLIN *(the duke of)*, colonel of the foot regiment of Lorraine, and deputy of the noblesse of the sénéchaussée of the Maine to the States General. Having had the good fortune, notwithstanding his great wealth, to escape the revolutionary scaffolds, he was made a senator after the events of the 18th Brumaire.

Page 121, line 25.

SAINT FARGEAU *(Louis-Michel-le-Pelletier de)*, président à mortier of the parliament of Paris, and deputy of the noblesse of that city to the States General. On the 30th of October, 1789,

he pronounced a long speech on the liberty of the press, and caused the project of Bailleul, intended to check its licentiousness, to be rejected. On the trial of Louis XVI., he maintained that this prince could and ought to be tried by the Convention; but faithful to his oath of never condemning to death, he wished at first to vote for his confinement, and even prevailed upon 25 of his colleagues, over whom he had considerable influence, to adopt the same opinion; having afterwards been gained over by a powerful faction, he at last voted for his death, as did his clients, which immediately gave 26 more votes to the Jacobins. St. Fargeau's conduct did not long remain unpunished, having been killed on the 20th of January, at the Palais-Royal, by Paris, one of the body-guards of the Count d'Artois, and afterwards one of the King's constitutional guards, at Fevrier's coffee-house, where he had come to dine.

Page 121, line 26.

Dionis du Séjour, a member of the parliament of Paris, and deputy of the noblesse of that city to the States General of 1789. He was one of the first of his order who went over to the chamber of the Tiers-Etat, and was appointed judge of a tribunal of the district of Paris, in 1790. Dionis du Séjour added the knowledge of astronomy to that of the laws, and the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences contain many of his writings. After having escaped from tyranny in a most profound retreat, he died in August, 1794. He was a plain, moderate, unassuming man.

Page 121, line 26.

Duport *(François-Mathurin)*, a member of the parliament of Paris, and deputy of the noblesse of that city to the States General of 1789. He embraced the revolutionary party, and immediately became one of the chiefs for propagating their doctrines: he delivered on this subject a very able speech on the state of the courts of Europe, and the means of introducing the Revolution

amongst them. The revolutionary tribunal caused him to be guillotined in April, 1794.

Page 121, line 26.

FRÉTEAU DE SAINT-JUST *(Emanuel-Marie-Mich. Philip.)*, counsellor of the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris, and deputy of the Bailiwick of Melun to the States General, of 1789. This ambitious, immoral man, devoted to the Orleans faction, took an active part in the disputes of the parliament with the court, and endeavoured to exasperate and mislead those of his colleagues who opposed the measures that were proposed by the ministers.

These events led to his arrest in the course of May, and after the dismissal of Messrs. de Lamoignon and de Brienne, he was set at liberty. Elected afterwards a deputy to the National Assembly, he went over with the minority of his order, to the Tiers-Etat; but finding himself despised by Mirabeau, who covered him with ridicule by surnaming him the Commère Fréteau, and rejected by the rest of the Orléans faction, he attempted to act the part of conciliator between the different parties, flattered each of them successively, and became at last the object of general contempt. The report he made on the 11th of June, 1791, on the state of France and foreign powers, completed his ruin. It was after this report, which displeased all parties, and brought on him numberless sarcasms, that a decree was passed, ordering the Prince of Condé to return to France in 24 days, on pain of forfeiting his rights to the crown, declared a rebel, and prosecuted as such. He was condemned to death on the 26th of June, 1794, by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. He was 49 years of age.

Page 123, line 24.

H. R. H. THE COUNT D'ARTOIS. This prince left the kingdom with his family, at the commencement of the Revolution, by the order of the King his brother.

The faction were at great pains to render him unpopular, because they dreaded the influence of his amiable and loyal disposition, and

his rights to the throne, as well as those of the Duke of Angoulême, and the duke of Berry, his sons. It is known that at a moment when his courage was restrained from political motives, he exclaimed, " *I will go and seek my death or live with glory!*"

Page 123, line 27.

CONDÉ *(Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de)*, born the 9th of August, 1736. This prince early distinguished himself in the military career, and particularly in the seven years' war. He soon manifested his indignation against principles subversive of the monarchy and the throne of St. Louis. He quitted France in 1789, and published in September, 1790, a manifesto, in which he protested against the pretended French Constitution. It was about this time that his magnificent palace of Chantilly was plundered, and the cannon, monuments of his bravery, were carried off.

In June, 1791, the National Assembly decreed that his estates should be confiscated, and himself declared a traitor to his country, if he did not immediately return to the French territory, and the King sent M. Duveyrier to him with a request to that effect. The prince had then begun to assemble about him a corps of French emigrants, which successively increased and served in the most distinguished manner; particularly at Bertsheim, where he led on his troops with his grandson and son, who was wounded in the right hand by a sabre; and at the attack of Steinstadt, on the 24th of the same month, when an officer of engineers between him and the Duke of Berry was killed by a howitzer. It was in speaking of these actions that the Abbé Delille, in the edition of the poem of Sorrow and Pity, printed in London, used this fine expression:

" Three generations march to glory together."

The Prince of Condé came to London after the peace of Lunéville,

he was living, suitably to his rank, in the honourable and magnificent retreat he had chosen a few miles from London, when a shocking event, which will be recorded in the blackest page of the history of the man who ordered it, afflicted his paternal heart, and embittered with sorrow the end of his noble career.

Page 125, line 17.

CASTRIES *(M. le Maréchal de)*, who commanded with success a French army in the seven years' war, presided afterwards in the marine department, and was a member of the Assembly of Notables of 1787. The duc de Castries, son of the Marshal, was elected in 1789 a deputy of the nobles of the vicomté de Paris to the States General, where he distinguished himself as a zealous defender of the monarchy. A difference of opinion having occasioned a duel between him and Charles Lameth, the latter wounded him in the arm; and the next morning, the populace, excited by Lameth or his partisans, pillaged the Hôtel de Castries.

The Duke then wrote to the President of the Assembly, that, considering the circumstances in which he was placed, he thought it adviseable to absent himself, and requested him to send him leave of absence at Lausanne. In the month of August, 1794, he raised a corps of emigrants for the English service, which was sent to Portugal at the latter end of 1795. The Marshal de Castries died at Wolfenbuttel, in January, 1800. His son has sacrificed the immense fortune he might have claimed in France at the peace, and continues to reside in England.

Page 169, line 17.

LE CHAPELIER *(Isaac René-Gui)*, advocate at Rennes, and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of that city to the States General. His talents would have been generally admired, had they been employed for the good cause. He was condemned to death on the 12th of April, 1794, in the 39th year of his age.

Page 170, line 8.

VOLNEY *(Chassebœuf de)*, proprietor of lands and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of the sénéchaussée of Anjou to the States General. He has acquired celebrity by his travels in Egypt and Syria, and the United States of America. He has taken much pains in dissipating all the illusions relating to those countries, which other travellers who had preceded him had delighted in creating. He is a senator, and a member of the class of the Institute, which answers to the old French Academy.

Page 177, line 21.

MALOUET, intendant of the Navy at Toulon, and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of Riom, in Auvergne, to the States General. The moderation of M. Malouet has become proverbial in every country, in which he has resided during the course of the revolution. After having been several years a pensioner of the King of England, he has left London to be maritime prefect at Antwerp, where he causes a number of ships of war to be built and fitted out, *for*, or *against* Great Britain.

Page 179, line 17.

ESTAING *(Charles Henry d')*, knight of the royal orders, admiral and lieut.-general of the armies of France, born at Ravel, in Auvergne. Regardless of the favours which the court had heaped upon him, he became a partisan of the Revolution, and was appointed commandant of the National guards of Versailles in 1789. On the 18th of September, fearing an attack from the French guards of that city, he succeeded in procuring from the military committee and the municipality, a demand for the regiment of Flanders to be ordered to Versailles: but on the 5th of October, he never put himself at the head of the National Guards, nor did he make the smallest effort to prevent the removal of the King to Paris. The revolutionary tribunal condemned him to death on the 9th of May, 1794.

Page 185, line 13.

GORSAS *(Antoine-Joseph)*, born at Limoges, the 20th of March, 1751, a schoolmaster, man of letters, and finally the editor of a Jacobin journal called, "The Courier of Paris and Versailles." He was one of the first instigators of the Revolution, both by his writings and his speeches amongst the groups of the capital. He actively promoted the events of the 20th of June and the 10th of August, 1792, and was elected in September a deputy of the department of Seine and Oise to the Convention. He was included in the proscription of the Gironde faction, and condemned and executed on the 7th of October, 1794.

Page 187, line 7.

GOUVION, a General in the service of France, son of a lieutenant of police of Toul. Having been placed at an early age in the corps of Engineers, he obtained the rank of captain in it, and was employed during the American war under La Fayette, whose chief adviser he became, and who was indebted to him (as well as to Messrs. Duportail and Dumas) for some reputation which he acquired at that time. When that general, in 1789, took the command of the Parisian National Guards, he called Gouvion near him, and caused him to be appointed major general under him. It was he whom La Fayette charged on the 21st of June, 1791, to communicate to the Assembly the information he had been able to obtain relative to the flight of Louis XVI.; and according to his own report, he appeared in the eyes of the revolutionary party, to have been at least guilty of negligence. Gouvion then repaired to the army commanded by La Fayette, was employed as general of division, and took the command of the advanced guard. On the 23d of May, he was attacked at Florennes, where he defended himself more than five hours. He was again attacked on the 11th of June, where he conducted himself with equal skill and bravery: but not having been supported by the main body of the army, he commenced his retreat, which he effected

with great coolness and ability as far as the village of Glisvell, where he was killed by a cannon ball.

Page 185, line 19.

The Jacobins having scandalously misrepresented the entertainment given by the life guards, and excited the public indignation against it, their Majesties, in consequence, thought it adviseable to order all who had remained faithful to them, or held some employment, *to wear the uniform of the National Guards*, and even to *accept such rank as might be offered to them*. That order, added to the menaces which I had heard in several parts of Paris, determined me likewise to adopt that dress, in the hope of being able, by that means, to obtain more information of what was plotting, and to render myself useful in moments of danger.

I had not as yet put my name down in the National Guards, when the event of the 6th of October took place. As they every where beat to arms on that occasion, I was obliged to go to the guard-house in my neighbourhood, but did not remain there long.

I received at that post a bad gun and three cartridges to fire upon the Parisian brigands. In order to get away, M. Bourgeois* and myself availed ourselves of the pretext of going for our own arms and more ammunition, but I seized that opportunity to fly to the palace, to make his Majesty acquainted with the result of my enquiries. I made my report, and shewed my arms and ammunition, to Messrs. Antoine de Beauterne,† and his nephew M. Bazire;‡ these gentlemen informed M. Thierry de Ville d'Avray and M. de Chanlaux,§ who communicated to His Majesty my resolution not to quit the palace again.

* A clerk in the War office, and train-bearer to the Countess d'Artois.

† Gun-bearer to the King.

‡ Train-bearer to the King.

§ First Valets-de-Chambre to the King.

When the Royal Family had removed to the Thuilleries, having seen them on the following day, deprived of their faithful life guards, and surrounded by an army of rebellious subjects; and the conduct of the National Guards of Versailles exciting my contempt and indignation, I could no longer wear a coat which I thought disgraced, and immediately gave my uniform to M. le Tellier, usher of the King's bed-chamber, whose large property in that city imposed upon him a policy I resolved to lay aside.

Page 196, line 22.

National Guards of Versailles, &c. It was the wish of Their Majesties to set out for Compiègne, on the 5th of October, at seven o'clock in the morning, with all their Family.

In consequence of this wise determination, the carriages had been ordered to be at the terrace of the Orangery, where Their Majesties might have been able to join them unperceived by the inhabitants of the city.

Will posterity believe, that four wretches, paid by the Jacobins, prevented the King's carriages from passing through the iron gate of Orangery-Street, and that 20 or 30 National Guards at that post, durst not, or would not, forcibly possess themselves of the keys of that gate, and bind with cords, or kill those four villains, and thereby save by an act of justice, the august family of Louis XVI.

Page 200, line 22.

Maillard, huissier to the Châtelet of Paris. This sanguinary man took an active part in the troubles of the capital, on the first opening of the States General, and on the 14th of July, 1789, was one of the conquerors of the Bastile. On the 5th of October, when it was determined on making the people march from Paris to Versailles, he himself beat the drum to assemble the women, and was appointed by the permanent committee, to go at the head of them and demand bread from the King and the National Assembly, to hasten the drawing up of the Constitution, and insist

on the punishment of the Life Guards: he accordingly set out at the head of the first column, which he led on and directed with a commanding ascendancy. Having arrived near Versailles, he made all these women halt, drew them up in order, placed his cannon in the rear, and thus proceeded to the Assembly whom he harangued; and after having made them pass several decrees concerning the provisioning of the capital, he returned to Paris the same evening, and was not at Versailles during the night of the 5th. In September, 1792, he was president of the self-created tribunal which sat in the prison of the Abbey to order the massacre of the prisoners. Adding theft to cruelty, he plundered the victims who were murdered by his orders, was afterwards one of the informers in the prisons, and went several times to that of La Force, during the reign of Terror, in order to point out the victims who were to be immolated by the revolutionary tribunal.

Page 209, line 11.

Laclos *(Choderlos)*, an officer of artillery, and secretaire des commandemens to the Duke of Orleans. This man, as remarkable for his vices as for his wit, a prodigy of immorality in this immoral age, had made himself known before the Revolution, by a novel entitled: "*Dangerous Connections:*" and as if he wished to add example to precept, it is certain, that of all those who surrounded the Duke of Orleans, he was most instrumental, not in corrupting him (which had already been done by others), but in transforming him into a party leader, notwithstanding his weak, indolent, and wavering disposition. Laclos was always one of the most active agents of the Orleans' faction, and to him has been attributed, the honour of the invention of that story of the *Brigands*, which, in 1789, made all France take up arms in 48 hours. He was afterwards strongly implicated in the evidence given at the Châtelet, on the 11th of December in the same year, relative to the events at Versailles of the 5th and 6th of October. In the proceedings of the Châtelet, the Count d'Arsac

deposed having seen him, on the evening of the 5th, dressed in a brown coat, amidst the groups of women who came from Paris. In 1791, he was conspicuous in the Jacobin club, and strenuously exerted himself to cause a strong resolution to be passed against Louis XVI., after that prince was arrested at Varennes. The Duke of Orleans having been arrested in 1793, he was involved in his ruin, and imprisoned at the same time. He, however, saved his life by an obsequious conduct, and composed in his prison most of the speeches of Robespierre. After the fall of that tyrannical protector, he was set at liberty, and at first concealed his vices and his ignominy in obscurity. He at length obtained employment in the army sent to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and died in 1803, at Tarento, where he commanded the artillery.

Page 209, line 11.

LaTouche-Tréville *(Le Vassor Comte de)*, chancellor to the Duke of Orleans, and deputy of the noblesse of the Bailiwick of Montargis to the States General. He was one of the first of that order who went over to the chamber of the Tiers-Etat, and was, from the commencement of the Revolution, one of the principal agents of the Orleans' faction; which appears from depositions made at the Châtelet relative to the events of the 5th and 6th of October. He had been a captain in the navy before the Revolution, and in 1792 he was made a rear admiral; an appointment he contrived, by his obsequiousness and intrigues, to retain until his death, which happened at Toulon, in 1803, on board the Bucentaure.

Page 232, line 6.

Mounier, secretary of the provincial states of Dauphiny, and deputy of the Tiers-Etat of that province to the States General. Mounier, whose virtue and attachment to the public good triumphed over his ambition, was one of those who accelerated the French Revolution; but at the same time perhaps the first of all who retired from the lists, as soon as he saw that Revolution take a course repugnant to his heart. On the 20th of June, he was

amongst the most active in promoting the famous sitting, and the taking the oath at the tennis court, which may be considered as the commencement of the Revolution. His friends endeavour to justify him for that unwarrantable measure, which produced such fatal consequences; and Mallet Dupan, amongst others, thus expresses himself on that subject. "Siéyès, Barnave, and the "Breton club *(the nucleus of that of the Jacobins, but, in which "Chapelier and Barnave were at that time leading men)*, had "determined to avail themselves of the circumstance to remove the "Assembly to the capital; they arrived at the tennis court with "that project. Mounier and others were informed of it; but so "enflamed were their minds, that nothing remained but the "choice of illegalities. To prevent the proposition of removal, "Mounier started the motion of an oath not to separate before the "accomplishment of the constitution. By this means the blow "meditated by the Breton club was warded off, and all the most "loyal members of the communes took this oath." But on the 1st of July he warmly opposed any interference of the Assembly in the discipline of the army, which belonged exclusively to the King, and on the 6th he again maintained the same principles. On the 28th, he again brought forward, with slight modifications, his plan to complete the constitution, and on the 29th, he spoke in favour of the Royal Véto.

On the 31st, he read, in the name of the committee of constitution, a plan of organization for the legislative body; and on the 4th of September, in a long speech, frequently eloquent, he explained two of the articles of that plan. The first of them related to the *absolute Véto*, which he wished to grant to the King; the second to the formation of a permanent legislative body, and divided into two chambres, one of the representatives, and the other of a senate. This opinion was the apple of discord to the patriotic party, as they immediately split into three different factions: that of the partisans of one house, that of two houses equally composed, and that of an upper and lower house. On the 23d, when Mirabeau moved that a law on the regency should be taken

into consideration, Mounier opposed the motion, as tending to conceal some secret snare which was laid by the Orleans' faction. On the 28th, he was elected president of the National Assembly, and that place, which he filled on the 5th of October, enabled him to see clearly the events of that night, but not to prevent them. The views of the different factions having been thus unfolded to him, he returned to Dauphiny, sent his resignation on the 21st of November, and published the motives of his conduct. Having afterwards retired to Geneva, he wrote a new work, entitled: *An Appeal to the Public Opinion*, written in bolder language than the first, and containing much information relative to the events of the 5th and 6th of October, as well as a refutation of the scandalous report made by Chabrond, in favour of the Duke of Orleans and his accomplices.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Mounier and Robespierre were the two deputies towards whom Mirabeau, who was so good a judge of men, shewed the greatest aversion. The one was too honest for him, and the other too great a villain. The one wished for a Revolution without crimes, the other only aimed at a Revolution with a view of committing them: and Mirabeau on his side, neither cared for Revolution or crimes, but as the means of satisfying his ambition, and his love of pleasure. Mounier emigrated to England, where he was entrusted with the education of a young nobleman. He retired afterwards to Gotha, where the reigning Duke received him with great kindness. He established there a Seminary, which attained some celebrity. On his return to France, after the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, he was appointed Prefect of the department of Ille and Villaine, and he died lately at Rennes, universally regretted.

Page 245, line 16.

QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, counsellor of the Châtelet of Paris. He embraced the revolutionary party, and was the reporter of the affair of Favras, but never adopted the Jacobin principles. In September, 1791, he was elected a deputy for Paris to the legisla-

ture, and vigorously contended for the monarchical constitution. On Feb. 1st, 1792, he defended M. Bertrand, the Minister of the Marine, who was accused by the Jacobins; referred to the law which authorised the King to choose his ministers; and finally made a vigorous attack against the galleries, who dared to hiss or applaud the speakers. His firmness could not but displease the disturbers of the public tranquillity; therefore he was one of the deputies the worst treated by them. Prudhomme, in his *Histoire des Crimes*, says: "There was none but Vaublanc and Quatremere who, having been empowered by their constituents to support the royal charter, had the courage to discharge their trust." His friends assisted him in escaping the proscriptions and condemnations of all the factions; and he is at present a member of the class of history and ancient literature, in the National Institute.

Page 254, line 7.

Bureau de Puzy, an officer of the corps of engineers. In 1789 he was deputed by the nobility of the bailiwick of Amont to the States General. He left France with M. de la Fayette, and shared his captivity. He died prefect of one of the departments of the Rhone.

Page 255, line 28.

Mirabeau *(Boniface de Riquetti, Viscount of)*, colonel of the regiment of Touraine, knight of the orders of Malta, St. Louis, and Cincinnatus, brother of Count de Mirabeau. He served with distinction in America, where he was celebrated for courage bordering on temerity.

In 1789, Mirabeau was nominated deputy of the nobility of Limousin to the States General; and he defended that order as well as the royal authority, with as much energy as his brother attacked them. In the first sittings he made uncommon exertions to prevent the union of the chambers, and even swore that he would not quit that of the nobility, notwithstanding the King's invitation. But that order

having resolved to comply with the desire of Louis XVI, Mirabeau was thereby released from his oath; though he did not leave the hall until he had broken his sword, to shew that from that moment he considered the monarchy as destroyed. On Aug. 8th, in the course of a debate on the finances, he proposed the abolition of all those enormous pensions, which the court, he said, had so ill bestowed; amongst others, one of 200,000 liv. enjoyed by one family (the Noailles). On Aug. 17th, he drew a brief but spirited and striking picture of the disorders produced by a system which destroyed every thing, without substituting any thing; and on Sept. 19th, he proposed the convocation of the primary assemblies, for choosing a new legislative body, insisting that the then acting deputies should be declared ineligible, and even that they should not be permitted to reside in any place where the legislature held its sessions. He seasoned his speech with very severe observations, which deeply galled the *Côté Gauche*. On Oct. 30th, he defended the cause of the clergy who were to be deprived of their property; exclaiming, in the course of his speech: *I employ in this debate the logic of the lungs, since, in such an assembly as this, it is no less necessary than that of reason.* On Nov. 17th, he spoke in favour of the parliament of Metz, which was accused of having declared that the King and the Assembly were not free; on which occasion he ironically described the liberty of the legislative body, especially that of the king, whom 15,000 men had gone to beg that he would repair freely to Paris. On Dec. 15th, he again with great force touched upon the anarchy introduced by the Revolution, and on the same day, espousing the cause of the parliament of Rennes, accused by Robespierre, he violently interrupted that speaker, took possession of the tribune, and, with reprehensible passion, kept it forcibly for more than an hour. In consequence of that scene Count de Mirabeau went to him, mildly reproaching him for frequently drinking to excess, which made him commit unpleasant outrages. *Why do you complain?* replied the Viscount, laughing; *of all the vices of our family you have left me but that.* This reply reminds me of another of the same kind. The Viscount having fought a duel, was wounded; his brother instantly went to see him; and when he was

going away, the Viscount said to him: "I thank you for your visit; it is certainly the more disinterested as you will never give me an opportunity to pay you one, on a similar occasion." His regiment having mutinied at Perpignan, he went thither in June 1790, for the purpose of reducing it to order; but not being able to re-establish discipline, he left Perpignan, taking with him the colours. This step made a great noise in the neighbouring provinces, and he was arrested on the road; but being soon released by order of the Assembly, he appeared before it to reply to several accusations preferred against him. He mounted the tribune on June 27th, exculpated himself, and emigrated soon after. He then raised a legion, which distinguished itself eminently during the whole war, under the command of the Prince of Condé, and followed him into Poland. Scarcely had the Viscount de Mirabeau quitted the frontiers of France, when he wrote to the Assembly, giving in his resignation, and informing them that he agreed to all protests made and to be made against all attempts to subvert the monarchy. On Jan. 2d, 1792, the Legislative Assembly in consequence declared him a traitor and conspirator against his country. He died towards the end of the same year, at Fribourg, in the Brisgaw.

Page 256, line 28.

LE CARPENTIER DE CHAILLOUÉ, one of the judges of the parliament of Rouen, deputy of the nobility of Alençon to the States General. He was secretary of his order in the first sitting; and on May 1st, 1790, declared that he intended to retire from the National Assembly, because his powers expired at the end of the month.

Page 256, line 2.

BELBOEUF *(de)*, in 1792, advocate general of the parliament of Rouen. He was deputed by the nobility of the bailiwick of that town to the States General.

Page 256, line 2.

BERGASSE, a Lawyer of Lyons. In 1789 he was nominated deputy of the *Tiers Etat* of that town to the States General. He quitted the Assembly in October, and in the February following wrote a pamphlet in justification of his refusal to submit to a constitution before it was made. He was in prison during the period of Terror. Fortunately for himself, he was not tried until a few days after Robespierre's death; and although they continued to condemn a great number of prisoners, yet he was acquitted and liberated. He would never accept of a situation under any government succeeding the revolutionary government, and after his liberation always lived in obscurity. It is confidently said that there are in his port-folio several political works composed in a masterly style.

Page 256, line 9.

MAURY *(John Siffrein)*, Prior of Lyons, Abbot of Frenade, a preacher to the King, and one of the members of the French Academy. He was born at Valeras, June 26, 1746. His parents were mechanics.

His talent for the pulpit obtained him several benefices, and his discourses, both panegyrics and sermons, had already procured him merited celebrity, even before the commencement of the revolutionary troubles. At that period he evinced his gratitude to his patrons, and devoted all his courage and eloquence to the defence of the monarchy. It has been observed that of all that followed the same line, he was almost the only individual whom it did not bring to the scaffold or reduce to poverty. Being in 1789 appointed deputy of the clergy of Peronne to the States General, he displayed great eloquence, a profound erudition, and, above all, a facility in delivering *extempore* speeches which always rendered him dreadful to the opposition in the chamber of the clergy. He strongly opposed the re-union of the Orders. On Sept. 3, he made a speech of considerable length in favour of the royal sanction. On Oct. 13, he spoke with great eloquence, and seemed to surpass himself in defending

the possessions of the clergy, an attempt being made to declare them national property. On June 19, 1790, he displayed great skill in defending the prerogatives of the nobility, proving that it was inseparable from monarchy, and in no instance did he appear to deviate from his principles, except when it enabled him to defend them to greater advantage. On Feb. 24, 1791, he attacked most successfully the motion then made that the King and the presumptive heir of the crown should be compelled to reside with the legislative body. March 22d he justified his opinion of the regency, and concluded that the regent, being nominated by the legislative body, should be assisted by a council composed of the Queen Mother; the first Princes of the Blood, and the Ministers who should be in office at the time of the King's decease. It would occupy too much room, were I to relate here all the occasions on which the Abbé Maury displayed those talents and that gift of speech which made him generally esteemed one of the first orators of the constituent assembly, so rich in eloquent men; suffice it therefore to mention only such as are most remarkable. He was afterwards one of the subscribers of the protests of Sept. 12 and 15; and having repaired to Rome, after the dissolution of the Assembly, the Pope gave him the title of bishop; and, in 1792, commissioned him to assist in the quality of a papal nuncio, at Frankfort, at the coronation of the Emperor. Sometime after, he was created Archbishop of Nice; and Feb. 21, 1794, he obtained a cardinal's hat, together with the rich bishopric of Montefiascone, near Rome. He returned to France in 1806, and has there accepted of public appointments.

Page 266, line 16.

LAUNAY, the elder (*Joseph de*), the King's Commissioner in the Tribunal of Angers, deputy of the department of Mayenne and Loire, to the legislative body, and afterwards to the Convention, in which he voted for the death of Louis XVI. He shewed himself a zealous Jacobin, during the two sessions, and constantly supported all violent measures. Aug. 19, 1792, he proposed and carried an address to the people, replete with abuse of the monarch,

relative to the papers pretended to have been found in the Thuilleries. Nov. 27, 1793, he was arrested by order of the committees, tried on March 16, 1794, and sentenced to death April 5th.

Page 267, line 6.

TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD (*Charles Maurice*), Bishop of Autun, Abbé of Celles and of St. Denis, born at Paris in 1754, deputy of the clergy of the bailiwick of Autun to the States General. He declared in favour of the popular party, at the opening of the States General. His name and dignity procured him a degree of influence over certain members of his order; his example was followed by a great many parish priests. On July 6 and 7, 1789, he proposed in long speeches that the imperious mandates should be annulled; sometime after, he spoke in favour of the Jews, the public executioners, the comedians, &c. &c. on whom he wished the rights of active citizens to be conferred; and Aug. 20, he procured the adoption of an article decreeing that all citizens without distinction should be admissible to all public employments. Three days after he opposed the insertion of any thing relative to divine worship in the declaration of the rights of men, maintaining that it was in the constitutional act that the sacred and holy interests of the catholic religion should be attended to. In February he drew up the address to the French nation, at that time published by the National Assembly, for the purpose of reporting to the people what they had already done for them, and what farther they intended to do. That address is remarkable, both with regard to the subsequent conduct of its author, and the short duration of all the institutions represented in it as so many national benefits. In the course of the same month he acted as president of the Assembly, and on July 14, attended by priests clad in white robes and wearing tricoloured ribbands, he celebrated the mass of the federation. On Dec. 19, he published an address to the ecclesiastics, to give an account of the motives which had induced him to take the constitutional oath, and to invite them to follow his example. It was he who, assisted by the Bishops of Lidda and Babylon, consecrated the

first Bishops *(intrus)* conformably to the civil constitution of the clergy, and that step, which no other prelate dared to take, brought him under the censure of the court of Rome, which was notified to him in a monitory from the holy chair, bearing date April 17, 1791. After the conclusion of the session, Talleyrand was sent to England, as a private negociator, for the purpose of averting the war, and even of negociating a treaty of peace and commerce between the two nations. But the system of Terror, which was very soon introduced into France, having changed the intentions of Great Britain, Talleyrand was included in the bill framed against suspected aliens, and in Jan. 1794 was compelled to quit England. Terrified by the blood which he found flowing in torrents in his country, and being besides informed that it was asserted in the Thuilleries after the 10th of August, 1792, there had been found papers relative to certain sums paid to him by order of the court, during the constituent assembly, he would not venture to return to France, but retired to the United States of America. The principles of government having been modified, in the meanwhile, after the changes of the 9th of Thermidor, he returned to Europe, applying in 1795, to the Committee of Public Safety for the repeal of a decree of accusation issued against him, as well as for the erasure of his name from the list of emigrants. His requests being granted in the session of Sept. 4th, he returned to Paris, where he became a member of the National Institute, and on July 16, 1797, was made minister of foreign affairs, in the room of Charles Lacroix.

From that time he began to gain great influence. Nevertheless he resigned July 20, 1799. The directorial constitution being, however, overturned in November of the same year, he was re-appointed minister of foreign affairs. Talleyrand, some time after, was even put upon the list for the office of second Consul, but he continued in the post which he occupied, and still exercises its functions. In 1806, he was created Prince of Benevento.

Page 305, line 8.

BRUNYER, first lady of the bed chamber of Madame Royale, and wife of the head physician of the royal children.

Page 306, line 1.

AVARAY *(Count)*, colonel of the regiment of Boulonnois, attending MONSIEUR, when that Prince emigrated, by his presence of mind saved him. Having arrived at Maubeuge, he went into the post master's room and entreated him in accents of the deepest distress to assist him in proceeding to Mons by cross-roads, there to take a last farewell of his dying sister who was a canoness of that city. The postmaster being moved by his prayers, and being at the same time promised a remuneration, furnished him with horses which conveyed MONSIEUR to Mons, where he arrived at midnight. The Prince being penetrated with gratitude for that essential service, appointed Count Avaray captain of his guards, and after the death of Louis XVI. gave him the commission of captain of the King's Guards. He further granted him the privilege of bearing over his family arms those of France, and for a device to take the date of the day on which he saved his master.

Page 307, line 9.

FERSEN *(Count)*, colonel of the regiment of the Royal Swedes in the service of France. The reader has been informed already in these Memoirs of the part he acted in the unfortunate journey to Varennes. He returned to Sweden where Gustavus made him captain of his guards. In August, 1791, his sovereign sent him to Vienna, charged with a secret mission relative to the French Revolution; and in July, 1797, he was appointed minister at the diet of the empire, in the negociations for peace. Count Fersen is at present grand marshal of the court of Stockholm.

Page 315, line 3.

BOUILLÉ *(Marquis de)*, lieutenant-general of the armies of the King, and knight of the royal orders. Being, in the beginning of the Revolution, commander-in-chief in the *Evêchés*, the mutinous garrison of Metz was by him reduced to obedience, and on that occasion he saved the life of M. de Pont, intendant of that province. Being, in 1790, charged with the commission to reduce to obedience the garrison of Nancy, who had revolted against their chiefs, he advanced against that city with about 4000 men, and succeeded in the enterprise, in which he displayed great courage, and gained the applause of the National Assembly. Being selected by the King to assist him in making his escape from Paris, in June, 1791, he put himself at the head of some troops, to cover the flight of the Royal Family; but owing to false information, or to an injudicious execution of orders, that attempt failed, and the Marquis found great difficulty in effecting his escape from France. He wrote a letter from Luxembourg, to the Assembly, full of menaces, and, perhaps, ill-suited to existing circumstances. The Assembly decreed, July 13, that he should be tried, and that the papers relative to the King's flight should be sent to the supreme national court of Orleans.

BOUILLÉ *(Count Louis de)*, son of the above. His father employed him in the attempted flight of the King. The Assembly decreed his trial; but he contrived to escape.

BOUILLÉ *(the Chevalier de)*, brother of the above. He was employed by his father to prepare on the road to Varennes the relays of horses for the carriages of the Royal Family. There was some neglect in the disposition of those relays, which partly occasioned the arrest of Louis XVI.

Page 323, line 10.

DUPORT-DU-TERTRE *(Marguerite François)*, advocate at Paris, and minister of justice in the years 1791 and 1792. He was the

son of Duport-du-Tertre, a literary character, known for several works, and Freron's assistant.

Duport-du-Tertre, to whom his father had left a very small fortune, studied in the college of Louis-le-Grand, was made advocate, and acquired some reputation, especially for probity and justice. All parties agree in representing him as a man of good understanding, of a mild character, modest, and fond of study and solitude. His philosophical ideas induced him to declare in favour of the Revolution, in which he always displayed great moderation.

He was appointed one of the electors in 1789, afterwards lieutenant to the Mayor of Paris, at the time when the first municipality was organized, and at last deputy-procurator of the commune. La Fayette recommended him to Louis XVI, who in 1791 appointed him minister of justice. In that situation he vainly attempted to follow the constitution which had just been established, and although less persecuted than the other ministers, he was denounced several times. After the King's departure for Varennes, he repaired to the National Assembly, to deliver up the great seal of state, as the King had ordered him; the Assembly desired him to take it again; he obeyed, and sealed the order for the King's arrest. Being denounced again, he resigned, and contrived to justify himself, but being involved in the proscription of Aug. 10, 1792, he was sent to Orleans, escaped the massacre of the prisoners at Versailles, and was at last, Nov. 29, 1793, sentenced to death. Hearing his sentence read, he exclaimed: *Revolutions put men to death; posterity judges them!* He was born at Paris, May 6, 1754. Though, during his ministry he lived in the palace of the keeper of the seals, he still retained his humble habitation, and visited it frequently.

Page 324, line 12.

ANDRE *(d')*, counsellor of the parliament of Aix. He was in 1789 deputy of the nobility of Provence to the States General. On June 25 of the same year, he went over with 43 other members to the hall of the *Tiers Etat*, and sat always on the *Côté Gauche*,

On Sept. 29, 1791, he rose to prevail upon the Assembly, to receive with due respect the King who was to be present at the sitting of the following day.

He obtained a decree that the Assembly should receive the King standing, and should sit down as soon as the King should be seated. He always was very circumspect in following the movements of the Revolution, lest he should have to repent of any rash step. Previous to the accession of the nobility to the Tiers Etat, he generally joined the majority who had remained faithful to the monarchy; but after their union had taken place, he kept a profound silence, suspending his decision until one party should gain the victory over the other; and seeing the defenders of the king crushed, he espoused the cause of the factions. When important questions were discussed he never ventured to contend with any of the great orators; nor was he ever heard to make any other but short motions, or amendments agreeing with the sense of the predominant party. In a single instance only he was seen acting contrary to his character, namely, at the time of the assassination of M. Pascalis, at Marseilles. His attachment to that unfortunate victim, inspired him with courage to attack Mirabeau personally, and to denounce him as the author of that murder. Seeing the horrors which disgraced the Revolution that had seduced him, he rejoined the party of the Royalists. M. d'André emigrated at first to England. The prospect of his being able to contribute, at the period of anarchy which prevailed in France during the revolutionary government, to effect the restoration of the monarchy, carried him to Germany, where he was employed in several missions by Mr. Windham, the British minister. They were, however, unfortunately unsuccessful. On the peace, M. d'André retired to Austria, where he is still residing.

Page 324, line 12.

DANTON (*George James*), advocate to the council, born October 26, 1759, at Arcis-sur-Aube, guillotined April 5, 1794. He was tall and stout; his form was athletic; his features were strong, coarse, and disagreeable; his voice made the ceiling shake;

when he spoke, his elocution was vehement, and his images were gigantic. These qualities, in the beginning of the Revolution, contributed to procure him considerable influence in the districts, and he was seen to pursue with perseverance his object, which was the same that Robespierre had in view, namely the dictatorship. He was successively the friend of Mirabeau, of Marat, and of Robespierre, whose victim he became. It was Danton who, after the arrest of Louis XVI. at Varennes, in July, 1791, called for and presided over the meeting in the *Champ-de-Mars*, where the deposition of the King was proposed. His power in the capital increased considerably in 1792; he assisted in organizing the transactions of the 20th of June, and in preparing the events of the 10th of August, by appearing on the eighth of the same month at the bar of the Assembly, to give notice, that, if they did not decree the deposition of the King, the section of the Cordeliers would rise, and march against the legislature. Louis XVI. having been actually deposed Aug. 10, Danton was made a member of the provisionary executive council, the department of justice being assigned to him, and had the address to usurp the nomination of the agents for the armies and the departments, which enabled him to create a great many dependants. Some authors accuse Danton of having prepared the massacres of September, and give an account of conversations and papers which prove how coolly he combined those horrid transactions. It was in the midst of that carnage that Danton, that odd medley of cruelty, meanness, and audacity, displayed the most atrocious energy. September 2d, the day on which the Prussians entered Champagne, spread consternation through the capital, and uneasiness among the members of the government. All the ministers, the most active deputies, and Robespierre himself, met at the house of Danton, who alone preserving his courage, seized, if I may say so, all the powers, and dictated the defensive measures which were adopted at that time. He particularly prevented the removal of the Assembly beyond the Loire, a measure which might have produced incalculable consequences. Danton was guilty of the massacres at Versailles as well as those at Paris. Alquier, then president of the department of the Seine and Oise, having waited upon him to request proper

measures for saving the prisoners of Orleans, he replied: "What is "it to you? Mind your duty, and do not interfere in this matter; "the people demand vengeance." He had previously introduced the domiciliary visits, by means of which before the second of September, he filled the dungeons with unfortunate prisoners, and was heard to propose to the Jacobins to compel the wealthy to pay the debts of the State, and, in case of refusal, to commence the same revolutionary measures against them which had been taken against the nobles and priests. On November 6th, he vehemently urged the condemnation of Louis XVI, and afterwards voted for his death. A deputy relates that, having represented to him that the Convention was wrong in obstinately determining to try Louis XVI. as its members could not at the same time be accusers, jury, and judges, he answered: "*You are right; nor shall we try Louis XVI, but kill him.*" Danton designed to destroy the despotism exercised by Robespierre in the committees, and Robespierre, more dexterous than him, meditated his destruction, to deliver himself from a dangerous rival. Robespierre having taken his measures, St. Just made a report to the Committee of Public Safety against Danton, and he was arrested in the night of March 31st, 1794, together with those that were called his accomplices. Being sent to the Conciergerie, he was confounded at the sight of the unfortunate persons whom he had caused to be confined there; his countenance became gloomy and savage; he appeared above all humbled at having been the dupe of Robespierre, and all he said was a singular medley of repentance and pride. On his examination he coolly replied: "I am Danton, sufficiently known in the Revolution; annihilation "will soon be my dwelling, and my name will live in the Pantheon "of history." The revolutionary tribunal condemned him to death, as an accomplice in a conspiracy tending (who would believe it?) *to re-establish monarchy*. It appears that a party of the Cordeliers had resolved to save the life of their chief at the moment of his execution; but that design was frustrated by the rapidity with which his sentence was executed. Danton swayed the Cordeliers as Robespierre did the Jacobins. Though he was as ignorant as the latter, yet he was in possession of greater revolutionary means,

and was inferior to him in nothing but cunning and falsehood. It was said of him *that Robespierre had outwitted him.* Danton was poor previous to the Revolution; he was deeply involved in debts; but at his death left a considerable fortune. His mission to Belgium contributed particularly to increase it. " Danton and " Lacroix," says Prudhomme, " when Dumouriez was defeated, " hastened to extort the property of the inhabitants, whilst on the " other hand their greediness seized the pay of the soldiers mowed " down by the enemy's sword." On the arrival of the news of Danton's execution, at St. Lazare, one of the prisoners made the following impromptu:

Lorsqu'arrivés au bord du fleuve Phlégéton,
Camille-Desmoulins, d'Eglantine, Danton,
Payèrent pour passer cet endroit redoutable;
Le nautonnier Caron, citoyen équitable,
A nos trois passagers, voulut remettre en mains
L'excédant de la taxe imposée aux humains:
" Gardez," lui dit Danton, " la somme tout entière;
" Je paye pour Couthon, St. Just, et Robespierre."

(Arrived at the borders of Phlegeton, Camille-Desmoulins, d'Eglantine, and Danton, paid for their passage of that awful river. The ferryman, Charon, that equitable citizen, offering to return the balance of the tax imposed upon mankind, Danton said: " Keep the whole sum; I pay for Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre.")

Page 324, line 12.

Beaumetz (*Bievis de*), first president of the Supreme Council of Arras, and deputy of the nobility of Artois to the States General, in 1789. He shewed himself one of the most implacable enemies of the clergy, especially on the question of stripping them of their property. He suffered little of his sentiments to transpire in the chamber of the nobility during the short period of its sessions; after the re-union of the three orders, he placed himself on the *Côté*

Gauche; voting however with that party which seemed to be least vehement. He has often been accused of consulting nothing but his love of money; and his disordered circumstances induced him to use any means likely to furnish him with it.

In the month of September, 1789, he declared in favour of the *suspensive veto* which was proposed to be accorded to the King: a short time after, he made a report upon criminal jurisprudence, in which he demanded that the proceedings should be made public, that the accused should be allowed counsel, and the facts produced by him in his justification be admitted. In August, 1790, he supported the introduction of juries; and in the month of May of the same year occupied the chair. On the second of September, he proposed in the name of the committee of the constitution a mode of presenting the constitutional act to the King. On December 5, as a member of the department of Paris, he signed the petition addressed to the monarch, claiming for the nonjuring priests the salaries granted to them by the law, and which appeared intended to be refused them. During the rest of the Revolution he remained obscure. He continued in France during the whole course of the Revolution, and is now a prefect.

Page 324, line 12.

TALON, counsellor of parliament, and supplementary deputy of the nobility of Chartres to the States General. The career of this magistrate was a long train of intrigues, at one time in favour of the court, and at another in support of the revolutionists. He went to England where he resided during the directorial government. He had a considerable share in the secret negociations which placed the Dutch colony of Surinam in the possession of the English. The public papers declare, that during that epoch he realized a fortune of more than £100,000. He had the imprudence to return to France after the conclusion of peace with England. Soon after his arrival at Paris he was imprisoned in the Temple, and is at present confined in the dungeons of Hières.

Page 324, line 12.

EMMERY, advocate at Metz, deputy of the Tiers Etat of that city to the States General in 1789. He embraced the revolutionary party, but never shewed himself intemperate, which often rendered him suspected by the Jacobins. In 1789, he was member of the Committee of General Safety. In July, 1790, he made in the name of the military committee a report on the organization of the army, and in his speech displayed much knowledge of the subject of which he was treating, particularly of the financial part of it. In January, 1791, he presided the Assembly; in March he opposed the projected abolition of the establishment for invalids. Being nominated in 1797 deputy of the department of the Seine to the Council of Five Hundred, he there professed very moderate principles. On the 30th of June of the same year, after a very eloquent speech, which was listened to with the most lively interest, on that absurd and barbarous law which robbed the relations of emigrants for events which they could not prevent; he proposed the abrogation of all the spoliatory laws. On August 14, he spoke with great energy and feeling in favour of the fathers and mothers of the emigrants, and obtained a repeal of a decree that bore heavy on their fortunes. After having been appointed (in Dec. 1799) member of the conservatory senate, he was chosen member of the council of state in the department of justice.

Page 347, line 9.

MONSIEUR, the King's brother, now Louis XVIII. had the good fortune to escape the fury of the Jacobins. This prince, a man of excellent character, who unites with much spirit and erudition the happiest memory and a great facility of expressing his ideas, and whom his bitterest enemies cannot help esteeming, went to Brussels, and thence to the elector of Treves, his uncle. Louis XVIII. has inherited the good-nature of the Bourbons. All that are near him are warmly attached to him: his friends, his faithful servants, have followed

him into banishment: there, far from the place where the rights of his birth seemed to call him to the throne, he is seen, in those hospitable countries that have received him, to interest the high and the low, and to procure the love and respect of all that can approach him, live near him, and appreciate his worth.

In misfortune Louis XVIII. has displayed firm courage, and a great character. His conduct among the people where he has found an asylum, has always made him an object of admiration. It is pleasing to behold in him an offspring of Henry the Great, who, when compelled to quit Venice, boldly demanded of the Senate the sword presented to the republic, by his grandsire of Navarre. We cannot, too, but admire the conduct of a prince, who, previous to the fall of the French monarchy, appeared inclined to economy, and who, at the moment when he had to apprehend a cruel desertion, found the means of providing from his necessaries for the subsistence of those that followed his fortune. Exposed to the political tempests which the treaties of France have accumulated on his head, he lives, like Bayard, poor, without reproach; with honour, and forming for his country only such wishes as are worthy of an Antonine.

Page 353, line 7.

ROMEUF. Two young men of this name, of inferior rank, attached themselves to the Marquis de la Fayette, when he was made general of the National Guards of Paris, and he made them his aids-de-camp. One of them (Anthony), in June 1791, was ordered by him to pursue Louis XVI. when he made his escape from the capital, and to cause him to be arrested. Following their general to the central army, they were made captains of dragoons, and deserted with him; but soon after returned to France, where they are employed by the present government.

Page 387, line 17.

CAZALES *(de)*, son of a member of the parliament of Toulouse, captain in a regiment of mounted chasseurs in Flanders. In 1789,

he was appointed deputy of the nobility of Rivière Verdun to the States General. He there shewed himself one of the warmest defenders of the monarchical government; and displayed oratorical talents, by which he acquired on all sides the reputation of being one of the most eloquent members of the constituent assembly: he distinguished himself particularly by the facility he possessed in making *extempore* speeches, and by the energy with which he delivered his sentiments. In the first period of the States General, he was one of the commissioners of the nobility in the conciliatory conferences held by the deputies of the Three Chambers, and vigorously opposed the union of the three States, declaring that nothing but their separation could save the King and the monarchy. Towards the end of July he quitted the Assembly; but being arrested at Caussade, where he was exposed to some danger, he returned to the capital. It is not, perhaps, irrelevant, to observe here that three of those members who had with the greatest energy opposed the revolutionary party, attempted to quit an assembly where they despaired of effecting any thing by reason, and that they were forced back again by persecution: these three members were Cazales, the Abbé Maury, and Viscount Mirabeau. After his return to Paris, Cazales appeared again in the Assembly with all the advantage which he derived from his talents in a tribune, where the cries of rage and the howlings of factions had not yet been capable of silencing entirely the voice of good sense and genius. Robespierre, whose fury was then as ridiculous as it was insignificant, was frequently humbled by him. There are few questions of importance in which Cazales did not take a part. The right of making peace and war, of which the King was attempted to be deprived; the right of nominating or sending ambassadors, of which he was also to be divested, the oath required of the priests appointed for the public service, and the law by which the King and the heir to the crown were to be restrained from absenting themselves from the place where the legistature sat, are those subjects which he discussed with the greatest eloquence. On the question, whether the members of a legislature should be eligible to the following one, he declared in favour of it, and found

himself in opposition to the *Côte Droit*, from which he never had separated. In the month of August 1790, he fought Barnave with pistols, and was wounded. Soon after the departure of Louis XVI. for Varennes, he was arrested by the people, but the Assembly ordered him to be set at large. July 21, 1791, he gave in his resignation, and retired to England, but returned to France in Feb. 1792. Being obliged to save himself from the persecutions which were directed against him, he joined the French Princes in Germany, where he made the campaign of 1792, in the van-guard of their army, and afterwards went to settle in England. The celebrated Edmund Burke received and treated him as a son. He obtained for him from the munificence of the British government an honourable pension, which he did not enjoy long; for, having returned to France, even before the conclusion of peace with England, he died there, on one of his estates, which he had recovered. He had offers of several places under the new government, but being disgusted with politics, he preferred a philosophical retreat to the anxiety attending a public life in a period of trouble.

Page 398, line 9.

LATOUR-MAUBOURG *(Marquis de)*, colonel of the regiment de Soissonnois, deputy of the nobility of Puy-en-Velay to the States General. He was esteemed one of the first men of his class in the chamber of the Tiers-Etat, became a member of the monarchical party, and is justly numbered among those ambitious men, who, to make themselves eminent, had no other means than a little intrigue and a great deal of immorality. When Louis XVI. was apprehended at Varennes, Latour Maubourg was one of the commissioners sent to bring him back to Paris. Being the inseparable friend of la Fayette, he accompanied that general in the quality of field-marshal to the army of the Ardennes, and deserted with him, Aug. 19, 1792. Being arrested at Rochefort, at ten o'clock at night, by the Austrian outposts, he shared the captivity of that general. Being released by the interference of the Directory, in Sept. 1797, he followed him again, strengthening

the ties which united him to the Marquis by marrying his son to Mademoiselle de la Fayette, and was at last recalled. Under the present government of France he obtained a seat in the senate.

Page 414, line 5.

MADAME de ROCHEREUIL.

After the two original pieces on the unfortunate journey to Varennes, which I have communicated to the public, I thought it became me to publish only, by way of a note, what happened to myself on that occasion, and of the particulars that came to my knowledge.

I always thought M. La Fayette had been informed of the projected departure of the King. What happened to me on the 12th of June, in the palace of the Thuilleries, confirms me in the opinion that the secret was divulged.

Eight days previous to the departure of their Majesties, as I was going to the palace at noon, as usual, I met at the top of the stairs, the Sieur Vilette, late secretary of the Baron de Breteuil, for the first time in the uniform of the National Guard, which was at that time held in no estimation. He had, since I had lost sight of him, gone over to the Jacobins. As I knew him well, and as he had been very lavish of a troublesome politeness on me, I took the liberty of gently reproaching him for his conduct; when he took me aside, and informing me that to a certainty the royal family were preparing to depart, he undertook to convert me. An altercation ensued, which became so warm that we thought proper to quit the palace precipitately, to come to an explanation in a more convenient place. Three of his associates joined us, and inveighed against me with great violence; but he carried them away, and I was thus delivered from those furies. I went immediately to the Queen's first *femme de chambre*, to inform her of what had happened to me. She communicated it to Her Majesty, who on the day following sent me word: "That I had been wrong in entering into conversation with an enthusiast, who for six months had been acting a part in the *Hôtel-de-Ville*; that I must be more

circumspect in future, and be deaf and dumb when in company with persons of his way of thinking."

A lady who had an appointment in the palace and who could not be prevented from obtaining some knowledge of the preparations which were making, had always been suspected of having given some hints to M. de Gouvion. This suspicion was particularly directed against Madame *Rochereuil*, a lady of the Queen's wardrobe, who was included among the persons that received pecuniary gratuities from the National Assembly, for having betrayed the King, or contributed to his apprehension.

This woman, upon whom the Queen had lavished her bounty, even paying for the education of her daughter, being dismissed from Her Majesty's household, had the impudence to present a memorial drawn up by M. de Beaumetz, in which she strove to prove that, having been sent away for rendering a signal service to the nation, that Princess neither ought nor could withhold from her the pension to which she was entitled on her retreat, the more especially as the National Assembly had declared that she had conferred an obligation upon her country; and that, besides, the Queen could not but applaud her for her fidelity.

The sacred word *fidelity*, as used in the memorial of Mde. de Rochereuil, appearing a downright mockery, I beg leave to point out the sense in which alone she could employ it.

Ever since the Court had resided at Paris, the Queen had discontinued taking supper, contenting herself with some broth. Her two first *femmes de chambre* with her Majesty's consent, had charged Madame Rochereuil every day to make the broth, which her page was directed to carry to the Queen every night, at the time when her children supped. In speaking of her fidelity, Madame Rochereuil, perhaps, meant to say, that, "having for several months prepared the Queen's supper, that Princess was under considerable obligations to her, for not having poisoned her." But the Queen, filled with indignation at the conduct of this woman, who was more than suspected, was inexorable, and replied, "that the National Assembly had well paid her for her denunciation; that circumstances did not

permit her to create new pensions; and that the surplus of her revenues were destined for the comfort of unfortunate people."

Madame Roohereuil thus experienced the treatment which her ingratitude deserved, and all who were not destitute of a due sense of honour, admired the firmness the Queen displayed on that occasion.

Page 410, line 2.

VILLEQUIER (the Duke of), field-marshal, knight of the royal orders, one of the four first lords of the bed-chamber, governor of Boulogne, and deputy of the nobility of the *Sénéchaussée* of Boulogne sur-mer to the States General. He resigned in 1790, and was succeded by M. Dubois. Being on duty near the King's person, Feb. 28th 1791, when the National Guards disarmed 200 noblelemen in the palace, he was basely insulted by M. de la Fayette, who, supported by the troops and the populace that were at his command, forgot the respect which he owed at least to his age. He constantly followed Louis XVIII to all the asylums which that Prince received since his departure from France. He resigned at last, on account of his advanced age, and now lives in retirement in a small town in Germany. His son, the Duke de Picnne, to whom he resigned his place in the service of Louis XVIII, distinguished himself in Spain during the Revolution, and there received many honourable wounds. He was lately employed at the court of Stockholm, where he was commissioned to raise the royal French standard.

Page 410, line 2.

MUGUET de NANTHOU, master of the horse, lieutenant general, and deputy of the Tiers Etat of the bailliwick of Amont to the States General. At the commencement of the revolutionary troubles, this young man joined the revolutionists; but being deficient in talents, he found it impossible to distinguish himself. To supply the want of eloquence, he employed gesticulation and menaces, and became one of the directors of the tribunes. He gave the signals to the po-

pulace, when they were to hoot, to applaud, or to interrupt the speaker. On Oct. 5th, 1789, being displeased with the King's reluctance to sanction certain decrees, he proposed that no subsidies should be granted him until he had given that sanction. On Oct. 30th, 1790, he denounced Messrs. de la Tour, de Grinstein and de Chalons, commanders of the regiments of *Royal Liegeois*, and Lauzun, as guilty of an anti-revolutionary conduct at Befort, and procured a decree of accusation against them. On Feb. 28, 1791, he urged the Assembly to issue a law against emigration. On June 16, he presented a report on the troubles at Bastia, and accused M. de Rossy, the commander of the military, of being the author of those troubles, although they were directed against him. On July 13th, he was ordered to read from the tribune, in the name of all the united committees, a report upon the events of June 20th, in which the crimes of that day were thrown upon the very persons who were the victims of them. He returned to obscurity after the session.

Page 411, line 4.

Buzot (François-Nicolas-Leonard), advocate at Evreux, deputy of the Tiers-Etat of that bailiwick to the States General of 1789, and of the department of Eure to the Convention, in 1792. Being by nature gifted with talents and a great deal of acuteness, he was considered as one of the first orators of the Convention, and acted a conspicuous part in the faction of the Gironde. During the constituent assembly he appeared very frequently in the tribune. On June 20, 1789, he violently opposed M. de Lally, who moved that the people should not be permitted to arm and enter indiscriminately into the Bourgeoise Guard. It was Buzot, who, on the 6th of August first started the maxim that *the possessions of the clergy were the property of the nation*. Two days after, he violently opposed the grant of a new loan solicited by M. Necker.

He opposed the introduction of martial law, representing it as an attempt upon the liberty of the people. He continued faithful to the Jacobins, when that society divided and formed that of the *Feuillans*. He was a member of the Committee of Inquiry, and during the

legislature sat in the criminal tribunal of Paris. It being proposed, Oct. 22d, that distinctions should be made between the different classes of emigrants, he carried the law in virtue of which they were banished for ever, and liable to capital punishment on returning to France.

He also carried the decree of capital punishment against every person that should propose the re-establishment of royalty. At the trial of Louis XVI, he voted for the death of that prince, with a delay of the execution, and he was even one of those who solicited it with the greatest zeal. Some time after, he moved that all deputies who had accumulated a fortune should be compelled to declare within a month by what means they had enriched themselves, on pain of being put in irons for ten years, and of having their property confiscated.

Being denounced, together with the other Brissotins or Girondists, by the Commune of Paris, he was outlawed, on the 28th of July.

He effected his escape from Paris to Evreux, and contributed to raise the Calvados against the Convention; seeing, however, that that commotion failed to produce the result expected, he embarked at Quimner for Bordeaux. He escaped from that city, where new dangers threatened him, and was found dead in a field half devoured by wild beasts. Buzot was born at Evreux, March 1st 1760. He was one of the most active leaders of the Girondists, and a marked object of the hatred of the party of the Mountain. In order to render him odious to the people, they nicknamed him *King Buzot*, at that period when the fish-women, flogging their children, used to call them little Aristocrats.

Page 411, line 4.

PRIEUR, advocate at Chalons, deputy of the bailiwick of Chalons-sur-Marne to the States General. Without acting a distinguished part in the Assembly, he was remarkable for his shrill voice, and outrageous opinions, and was generally known by the name of the *Squeaker*. He appeared frequently in the tribune, not for the pur-

pose of delivering connected speeches, but uttering some short and violent phrases against the moderate party and the Royalists.

It was Prieur, who on May 29, 1791, was the first that proposed a law against the emigrants; and on July 6th resumed the subject; but on June 21st, 1791, he distinguished himself particularly by the fury which he vented against the King, for his flight from Paris. Being in September, 1792, sent to the National Convention by the department of the Marne, he voted for the death of Louis XVI. Feb. 8th, 1793, he warmly moved the repeal of the decree carried against the authors of the massacrees of the prisoners, on the 2d and 3d of Sept. which induced many to suspect him of not having been a stranger to those sanguinary outrages; and on March 15th, when the representative Breard refused the appointment of a commissioner of the Convention to the revolutionary tribunal, Prieur took his place. On June 10th he was appointed member of the Committee of Public Safety, went in October to the army in La Vendée, and at Savenai ordered 1200 peasants, who had laid down their arms, to be shot. Justice, however, requires that I should observe, that the barbarities he committed in that country were by far less numerous than those which were perpetrated by other proconsuls. The inhabitants of L'Orient testify for him "that *pleasure* gaining the ascendant over *business*, the effusion of blood was spared whilst he was amongst them;" and it is said that one day he remonstrated with Carrier against the savage practice of drowning the unfortunate victims, and proposed to him to cause them to be shot on the field of battle; but Carrier treated him as an idiot in revolution. But, heavens! what kind of humanity is that which consists in nothing else but in substituting shooting for drowning? After the fall of the Mountain (Oct. 6th 1794) he was again appointed member of the Committee of Public Safety, and on the 22d of the same month, was made president of the Convention. It gave him pain to see the Jacobins pressed closely by the moderate party, and he accordingly shewed himself one of the most violent leaders of the insurrection, which, on May 20th 1795, broke out against the majority of the Convention; but the Terrorists being worsted, his appre-

hension was decreed the same day. Contriving, however, to make his escape, it is said that he attempted his own life; he concealed himself for some sime, and was at last pardoned, in 1796. In 1799, he was still considered as one of the Jacobins in the capital.

Page 411, line 5.

VADIER, counsellor of the presidial court of Vanniers, and deputy of that district to the States General. This wretch, who was born a beggar, had a ridiculous pronunciation, and never opened his lips during that session, but for the purpose of insulting the public authorities; he declaimed with particular fury, on July 14, 1791, against Louis XVI. on account of his flight from Paris; called him a *crowned robber*, and demanded his deposition: being, however, terrified by a denunciation, he protested, two days after, that he *hated the republican system, and swore that he was ready to sacrifice his life in supporting the decrees of the States General.*

Being, in Sept. 1792, appointed deputy of the department of Arriege to the National Convention, he voted for the death of Louis XVI, and ever after, shewed himself a furious Jacobin. It was Vadier, who, in July, 1793, conducted the expedition of Neuilly, where 114 inhabitants were brought to the scaffold, and eager to slaughter his fellow-citizens, wrote letter after letter, in April and May, 1794, to Fouquier-Tinville,* *recommending to him a batch* of citizens of Pamiers, who, June 11th, were actually sent to the scaffold. In the course of that year he presided in the Convention of the Jacobins, was one of the active members of the Committee of Public Safety, and frequently in the tribune, spoke in a manner which created doubts of the soundness of his intellects. It was several times decreed that he should be arrested; nay, the sentence of trans-

* Fouquier-Tinville (*Antoine Quentin*), son of a farmer of Heronelle, in the department of Aisne, solicitor of the Chatelet, and public accuser, who had caused the destruction of immense numbers of French, of all ages and of either sex, under the pretext of conspiracy against the constitution.

portation was even passed upon him; but he always contrived to escape, and he neither was transported nor delivered up to the criminal tribunal of Lower Charente, in conformity to a decree of May 24, which referred to that of April 1. In 1799, he was still numbered among the Jacobins of the capital, and the government, in the month of December of the same year, re-instated him in his civic rights. He is now dead.

Page 411, line 10.

DUCHATELET (*Achilles*), colonel of Chasseurs. He embraced the revolutionary party, and under the sanction of his name published a pamphlet composed by Thomas Payne. In the attack of Gand he had the calf of his leg shot away. In Sept. 1793, he was shut up in *La Force*, and there poisoned himself.

Page 413, line 20.

THOURET (*Jacq. Guill.*), advocate at Rouen, deputy of the Tiers Etat of that city to the States General. Being indefatigable in whatever he undertook, he soon distinguished himself in the National Assembly. He assisted considerably in drawing up the constitution, especially the judiciary and administrative part, and was constantly making reports on those subjects. Although entirely devoted to the popular party, he seemed to adhere a long time to the monarchical form of government; and it even appears that it was fear only which in the sequel induced him to join the Jacobins. Sept. 3, 1791, he was chosen to address the king on the presentation of the constitutional act for his acceptance; and being on the 12th of the same month re-elected for the fourth time president of the Assembly, he again harangued the King on the 14th and 20th of September, when he repaired to the session hall, to accept the constitution and afterwards to close the National Assembly.

Those two speeches, though delivered in a very arrogant tone, breathed attachment to the monarchy, and it was a singular spectacle

to hear the Jacobins congratulated upon their success against Louis XVI, and the memory of that Prince insulted by the same person who, in August 1792, and in November 1793, had appeared at the head of the criminal tribunal of Paris, over which he then presided.

But all the cringing adulation which he at that time lavished upon the tyrants, could not save him: he had been one of the leaders of the constitutional party; the Terrorists believed that he still secretly cherished his former principles; and May 3, 1794, the revolutionary tribunal of Paris sentenced him to death, as an accomplice of a conspiracy in the prison of Luxembourg, where he was confined. He was born at Pont l'Evêque, in the department of Calvados, and was in his 38th year when he was executed.

Page 120, line 10.

Although what happended to myself during the flight of Louis XVI, and his confinement in the Thuilleries, cannot but be of trifling interest, after the important events which I have traced in the most authentic manner; yet I think it will not be deemed irrelevant, if I state in a note what I did at that time, together with the observations I had occasion to make on the real sentiments manifested at that time by the French nation, respecting the situation of its sovereigns.

On the day previous to the flight of the King, my private concerns called me to Versailles. I left Paris June 19, 1791, at nine o'clock at night. On that day I had attended the Royal Family to mass, and paid my respects to their Majesties whilst they were at dinner. In the evening I had returned to the palace, where I attended the card party of the Queen, of Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth, from seven till half past eight o'clock, when I sat off accompanied by my friend, M. Antoine de Beauterne, knight of the order of St. Louis, and gun-bearer to the king.

On June 21, on our return to Paris, we were informed that the court had disappeared, that the capital was shut, and that no person whatever was permitted to leave it.

Delighted at that pleasing intelligence, but constrained to conceal our joy, we considered how we were to conduct ourselves on that important occasion, and dispatched our servants to make such dispositions, unknown to them, as our devotion to our august master and mistress demanded of us.

The Chevalier de Beauterne had in his care a great number of hunting pieces and pistols, a large quantity of powder and ball, the King's military guns, and the present, consisting of a fuzee and a pair of pistols, valued at 15,000 livres, which the *Hôtel-de-Ville* had given to the King, on the birth of the Dauphin.

During the absence of our servants, we concealed that present and the military guns in the house of Madame Antoine de Beauterne, my friend's mother.

We then hastily packed up our things, to which we added each a pair of double barrelled pistols, from the best of those belonging to the King.

I had in my pocket 30 louis d'or, and the sum in assignats and gold which my friend had in his possession amounted to more than six thousand livres. With these resources we resolved to set out immediately for Valenciennes, the commandant of which place was the brother-in-law of my friend, fully persuaded that he would enable us to gain the frontiers, to join our virtuous master and mistress, no matter in what country.

Such was our plan, when, on the return of our servants, we were informed, that no one was permitted to quit even Versailles without a passport from the municipality. We applied in vain for passports, and I could only obtain one as a surgeon, who had received permission to go only for a few hours to Paris, to see a patient.

Our projects having been frustrated, by the decrees of the municipality of Versailles, I set out the same day, with my surgeon's passport, when it began to grow dark, for Paris, in hopes of procuring of Messrs. Gandalphe and Geoffroy, first Secretaries of the department of foreign affairs, under the ministry of the Counts Vergennes and de Montmorin, two passports for Calais; but im-

mediately on my arrival, on the 22d, at 10 o'clock in the evening, I was informed that the King had been arrested at Varennes.

I dispatched an express to inform my friend at Versailles of the dreadful news, and staid at Paris, with Messrs. Auguie,* Campan,† and Pannelier d'Arsonval,‡ to await the issue of that sad event.

These respectable friends, who had always been extremely kind to me, and at that time lived together in the same house, gave me an additional proof of their kindness, by affording me an asylum, at a period when their own safety was in danger. Nor can I in justice omit to remark, that their sisters, Mesdames Campan,§ Auguie,‖ and Pannelier d'Arsonval,** at that time were a prey to the most painful anxiety. The second of these ladies, the worthy mother of two interesting and well-educated daughters, unwilling to survive her royal mistress, afterwards put an end to her life, by throwing herself out of a window.

The day after my departure from Versailles, I was informed by the Chevalier de Beauterne that several commissioners of the municipality of that place, accompanied by a guard of twenty men, had come to his house, to take away the arms and the hunting ammunition entrusted to his care. In his letter he added that a base groom, one of the King's pensioners, had denounced me as a suspected person; that search had been made for me all over the house, and in the houses of my friends, Messrs. de la Martiniere, first and second lieutenants of the parks of Versailles, for the purpose of arresting and conveying me to the *Hôtel-de-Ville* of Paris; but not finding me, the groom had given a description of my

* Receiver general of the finances.

† Secretary and librarian to the Queen, and director general of the lottery.

‡ Ranger of the forest of Compiègne.

§ First femme-de-chambre to the Queen, and reader to Madame Adelaide of France, aunt of Louis XVI.

‖ Femme-de-chambre to the Queen

** Femme-de-chambre to Madame Royale, the present Duchess of Angoulême.

person to the municipality of the capital, to secure me as foster-brother to the Queen, who must be in the secret of the flight of the Royal Family.

This intelligence compelled me to use the greatest precaution in quitting the dwelling of my respectable and generous hosts. I did not, however, neglect to ascertain in person that whilst the populace, with hordes of Jacobins among them, poured forth a thousand horrid imprecations against the court, the sober part of the nation pitied an unfortunate King, forced by ill-treatment, and the outrages so long vented against him, to fly from his ungrateful and rebellious subjects, and the faithful servants of that unfortunate family, penetrated with affliction, and borne down with sorrow, contended with each other to catch a few rays of hope and consolation, and implored heaven to protect those august prisoners against the Jacobins, who were eager to insult them most furiously.—But I have already informed the reader how they were received.

During the first fifteen days of their confinement, the royal family were obliged to give in the names of all the persons that were indispensably wanted for their service, and who, after a close scrutiny, were furnished with admission tickets by the hands of the first officers of the court, upon their personal responsibility.

The King and the Queen being, by the first persons in their service, informed of the profound affliction I felt for not having been permitted to share the dangers of their servants on their escape, sent me one of these tickets, which were distributed to such persons as their Majesties declared indispensable for their service; and I availed myself of it in assiduously paying my respects to them, until the new constitution was accepted.

It will be proper for me to remark here, that the first time the Royal Family were permitted to leave their prison in the Thuilleries, after their return from Varennes, they had to behold the demonstrations of joy excited by the acceptation of the new constitution; and that, on that occasion, the same individuals of the Royal Family who, three months before, had been led prisoners from the barrier of Chaillot to the palace, in crossing the *Pont Tournant*, beheld themselves again assembled in one carriage, driving from the

Thuilleries to that barrier, and pursuing the same road. The people who crowded that road were, in general, gloomy and dejected. It was felt that the constitution, about which there was so much noise and bustle, was essentially bad, that the King was not a free agent, when he accepted it; and it was foreseen that nothing but the most horrid consequences could result from those two circumstances.

END OF THE HISTORICAL NOTES.

INDEX

OF

THE FOURTH CHAPTER,

Forming the First Part of the Second Volume.

Page

OPENING of the Etats-Généraux. First language used by the King to the Representatives of the Nation 4

First insult of the factious members of the Tiers-Etat offered to the King 5

Remarks on the composition of that Assembly 8

Commencement of the party of the Duke of Orleans 12

Answer of the Queen to the Deputies of the Three Orders 13

Mirabeau; his projects, his first manœuvres described 14

Page

Mirabeau connects himself with the Duke of Orleans, and receives pecuniary assistance from him 16

The Queen, from the commencement of the Revolution, refuses the solicitations made to her to leave France 17

Verification of the powers 19

Motions of the factious groups of the Palais Royal 21

Death of the Dauphin 22

The children of Lewis XVI. and the Queen . 24

The Tiers-Etat declare themselves National Assembly 26

Royal Sitting; Oath taken at the Tennis Court 29

Declaration of the King on the 23d of June . 33

Enumeration of many acts of the King's benevolence and patriotism before the Revolution 34

The conduct of M. Necker at that period investigated 37

He accuses the Queen of raising a party against him 44

Justification of Maria-Antoinetta 55

Conduct of the King during the Revolution 56

Fermentation of the people; the three orders unite on the 27th of June 63

The Queen advises an act of authority to the

Page

King, a change of Ministry, and the formation of an army between Paris and Versailles 66

Address of Mirabeau for sending away the Troops 69

Day of the 12th of July, 1789. The Prince of Lambesc exculpated 73

Formation of a Committee of Parisian Electors 80

Formation of a National Guard of 48,000 men for Paris 81

Arms taken from the Hôtel des Invalides. Taking of the Bastile 83

Occurrences at Versailles on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of July 90

The King, accompanied by his two brothers, goes to the National Assembly, on the 15th of July 108

Maria-Antoinetta persuades the King to shew himself to the people of Paris 120

Departure of the Count d'Artois, Duke of Angoulême, Duke of Berry, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, and the Prince of Conti 124

The Queen obliges the Duke and Duchess of Polignac to set out 127

The Duke of Polignac meets M. Necker at Basil 128

The King's Journey from Versailles to Paris, on the 17th of July 130

Page

The King at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris . . 132

Usurpations of the Municipality of Paris . . 135

Disorganisation of the regiment of French Guards 136

Massacre of Foulon, Berthier, and others . 139

Return of M. Necker to Paris 143

Formation of a new Ministry 145

M. Necker intercedes at the Hôtel de Ville for the pardon of the Baron Besenval, which is granted, and afterwards refused by the manœuvres of Mirabeau 146

Declaration of the Rights of Man. Night of the 4th of August 149

M. Necker proposes a loan. The Assembly wishes to modify it, and it fails of success. 153

Proceedings and projects of the Committee of the Constitution 159

Discussion of the Veto. Popular movements directed by St. Huruge 163

Motion for dissolving the National Assembly, 170

The regiment of Flanders arrives at Versailles 178

Entertainment of the Life Guards, on the 23d of September 180

It is denounced by Le Cointre and Gorsas . 185

The People and the National Guard of Paris march to Versailles, on the evening of the 5th of October 133

Massacre of the Life Guards; the Palace broken

Page

into, on the morning of the 6th of October; danger the Queen is exposed to; her presence of mind; a trait of Her Majesty's courage; the Royal Family is carried to Paris 212

Journey of the King and Royal Family from Versailles to Paris on the 6th of October. 222

THE FOURTH CHAPTER CONTINUED.

RESIDENCE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY AT PARIS, DURING THE SITTINGS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, FROM THE 6TH OF OCTOBER, 1789, TO THE 30TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1791.

Negociation with the Duke of Orleans for his removal from Paris, after the 5th of October 234

Manœuvres of Mirabeau to ingratiate himself with the Court 237

Necker and La Fayette oppose it 238

Remarkable answer of the Dauphin . . . 240

The Baker François murdered; generosity of the Queen towards his widow 242

The National Assembly at Paris; the property of the Clergy placed at the disposal of the Nation 243

Project of the Marquis de Favras: he is denounced, tried, and executed. 245

Page

The King comes to the National Assembly on the 4th of February 254

The National Assembly send a deputation to their Majesties; the Queen's answer . 261

Publication of the *Livre Rouge* 262

Death of the Emperor Joseph II, the Queen's Brother 263

Federation of the 14th of July. Return of the Duke of Orleans. Homage paid by the Federates to the King and Queen . . . 264

Proceedings of the Châtelet relating to the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October.—The Queen's answer to the Commissioners of the Châtelet 267

Creation of Assignats 271

Abolition of the Order of Nobility . . . 273

Revolt of three regiments at Nancy . . . 274

Departure of M. Necker 275

Mirabeau is bought by the Court. Death of that celebrated man. His character . . 276

Departure of Madame Adelaide and Madame Victoire, the King's Aunts 282

Origin of the denomination of the Knights of the Dagger 284

Occurrence at the Palace of the Thuilleries.—The Gentilshommes disarmed by the National Guard 287

The King falls sick: the Assembly cause *Te Deum* to be sung for his recovery . . . 289

00036692

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 03 December, 2015